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AUBREY C. DAS

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BY AUBREY C. DAS

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THE JEWISH NATION

THE PEOPLE OF ISRAEL—also known as the Hebrews or the Jews—are a West-Asian Semitic nation. History records their existence for some 4,000 years, from the time when they settled in "the Land of Canaan", since then called the Land of Israel (the Romans later named it Palestine)—a country with which their fate has been linked ever since. In Israel the Jews created and developed a culture containing values which have enriched the heritage of mankind.

The Semites comprised a group of Oriental tribes; since time immemorial, they inhabited the region extending from the western borders of Persia to the Mediterranean and from Asia Minor to the southern tip of the Arabian peninsula—approximately what is known today as the Middle East. Their kinship is attributed to a commonly derived language, but ancient traditions speak also of a common origin. The relationship between the Jews and the Arabs, for example, is indicated not only by the affinity between their languages, but also by their tradition of a common ancestry.

Most of the Semitic tribes and peoples (such as the Babylonians, the Assyrians and the Phoenicians) have long since disappeared from the stage of history; in our time only the Jews and the Arabs remain.

The Semites produced what is probably the oldest civilization in history. They are credited with the beginnings of astronomy and the creation of the alphabet; the Greeks attribute to them the invention of navigation and the discovery of glass. Some of them built cities, or established states, as far back as 7,000 years ago. Others continued to live a nomadic or semi-nomadic life until settling down in one part or other of the Middle East. The Arab tribes, for instance, lived for the most part as wandering herdsmen in the desolate South, almost up to the time of the advent of Islam, 1,335 years ago, when they began to expand and to settle also in the more fertile parts of the area they conquered. The seven million Beduin living in the Middle East have preserved the traditional nomadic form of life to this day.

THE MOULDING OF A PEOPLE

The first of the Hebrews was Abraham, "father of the multitudes", the founder of the Jewish people. The Bible relates that about 4,000 years ago Abraham, a native of Ur of the Chaldees—probably the most ancient Semitic centre excavated so far—crossed[1] the River Euphrates westward, taking with him his entire household and flocks. According to the Bible, when God—the one God—revealed Himself to Abraham for the first time, He ordered him to go to the land of Canaan, for this land was to be his and his descendants', generation after generation:

> "Now the Lord had said unto Abram, Get thee out of thy country, and from thy kindred, and from thy father's house, unto a land that I will show thee. And I will make of thee a great nation, and I will bless thee, and make thy name great; and thou shalt be a blessing." (*Bible, Genesis* 12:1,2)

It is by reason of this promise that the land of Canaan subsequently came to be referred to as the Promised Land.

The Bible describes Abraham as a self-denying, God-fearing and peace-loving man, joining simplicity and faith to nobility in thought and action, a paragon of hospitality, who, in order to obey the command of God when He first revealed Himself, left his father and those around him to migrate to an unknown land. Abraham's cognizance of God, together with the divine revelation and promise, represent the first manifestation of the monotheistic faith and led to the formation of the Jewish people and its ties with the Promised Land.

Abraham and his son Isaac lived on pasture and are also described as having dug wells in various parts of the country. The first generations of the Hebrews still lived mainly on pasture, traversing the country with their flocks, but they already had semi-settled centres, and they were distinguished by their new faith and by a spiritual culture of their own. Later—perhaps 300 years after their arrival—a severe famine compelled the Children of Israel[2] to wander southward to Egypt.

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[1] *'abar* in Hebrew; hence—according to one theory—the name *Hebrew*. Others hold that the origin of the word lies in the name *'Eber*, one of Abraham's ancestors.

[2] The origin of the twelve tribes that went down to Egypt is attributed to Israel, or Jacob, traditionally the grandson of Abraham.

The Israelite tribes sojourned in Egypt for more than 200 years, during which period this country became, for them, a "house of bondage". As a foreign element, they were enslaved, exploited and oppressed without mercy:

> "And the Egyptians made the children of Israel to serve with rigour. And they made their lives bitter with hard bondage, in morter, and in brick, and in all manner of service in the field: all their service wherein they made them serve was with rigour." (*Exodus* 1:13,14)

The rapid multiplication of the Hebrew slaves, recalls the Biblical account, frightened the Egyptian tyrants:

> "Now there arose up a new king over Egypt . . . And he said unto his people, Behold, the people of the children of Israel are more and mightier than we. Come on, let us deal wisely with them, lest they multiply and it come to pass that, when there falleth out any war, they join also unto our enemies, and fight against us, and so get them up out of the land. Therefore they did set over them taskmasters to afflict them with their burdens . . ." (*Exodus* 1:8—11)

The Egyptians redoubled their oppressive measures—but to no avail, as the Bible tells us, for "the more they afflicted them, the more they multiplied and grew". The new king now ordered that every newborn male child be drowned in the Nile. One of the children thrown into the Nile, under this edict, was saved by the king's daughter, who had gone down to the river to bathe. That child was called Moses—which means, in Hebrew, "drawn out" (of the water).

While Moses was grazing sheep in the desert, God revealed Himself to him:

> "I will send thee unto Pharaoh, that thou mayest bring forth my people the children of Israel out of Egypt." (*Exodus* 3:10)

In pursuance of this divine instruction, Moses led the Jewish nation in the second crucial event in the early stages of its history: the Exodus from Egypt. The Exodus, which took place some 3,500 years ago, was of far-reaching social, spiritual and national significance.

Three interrelated phenomena are linked with the deliverance of the Israelites from the "house of bondage":

(1) the emancipation of a vast multitude of hopeless and frightened slaves—a most remarkable feat, by any standard—which involved convincing them that they were worthy of redemption and that freedom was really within their grasp;

(2) the granting of the Law, based on the initial faith of Abraham in one God, amplifying the philosophical background of that faith, setting forth modes of religious behaviour and charting a way of life in all its aspects—ethical, social and political;

(3) awakening and crystallizing the Israelites' national consciousness.

This process transformed the formless, aimless human beings departing from Egypt into a closely-knit community, conscious, for the first time, of a concrete task: its return to the land of its fathers in order to live there a new life having new content and new forms.

At the focus of this momentous undertaking stood the imposing figure of Moses, the "servant of God"—emancipator of slaves, law-giver, teacher of men, moulder of a nation, the man who inspired his people and the human race with his noble spirit—but also "slow of speech and of a slow tongue", "very meek", and, like every human being, subject to error.

The nation's historical sources, though full of details concerning Moses's deeds, contain very little in the way of personal details. We are not even told where Israel's first prophet—one of the greatest figures in the history of man—lies buried. "So Moses, the servant of the Lord, died . . . But no man knoweth of his sepulchre unto this day . . . And there arose not a prophet since in Israel like unto Moses . . ." (*Deuteronomy* 34:5—10)

Such were the early phases of the moulding of the nation, as traditionally recorded. Against this spiritual background, and the moral obligations bound up with it, the Jewish nation underwent many trials and tribulations through the ages. It has had to face terrible challenges and has waged an inspired struggle for the sake of spiritual values, eternal truths and the immortal spirit that animates man. Accompanied by cruel sufferings and near-despair, this effort has never been easy.

But the nation's spiritual heritage gave the Jews faith and confidence. It equipped them with that discipline of the spirit, optimism and creative capacity—in all fields of endeavour—that enabled them to withstand their foes and to surmount all the trials and difficulties that threatened the nation's physical and spiritual existence through the centuries.

This spiritual background has served as the mainspring of Jewish historical and cultural activity and has given this nation its universal character. It has made Jewish history a unique phenomenon.

EARLY SOVEREIGNTY

With the transition from bondage to freedom, cultural maturity and social and political sovereignty, the tribes of Israel were able to develop their culture and their land. They changed their former nomadic and semi-nomadic ways to settle on permanent sites.

The country, as a whole, was poor in water resources, but the Children of Israel exploited it fully and turned it into a fertile land. Agriculture became the mainstay of the people. It achieved a relatively high level, due to the nation's particular attachment to its sacred soil.

The bond between man and his soil is a factor of social and cultural importance in any agricultural society. In Israel it was inspired by two separate phenomena: the sanctity of the land in the eyes of its settlers and their positive attitude towards labour as expressed in the Bible, which enjoined man: "For in the sweat of thy brow shalt thou eat bread." While the land was incomparably less fruitful than other countries of the region (such as Egypt and Mesopotamia) that have been famous for their fertility since time immemorial, its sons considered it "a land of milk and honey".

The country became relatively prosperous, and it supported its inhabitants. The main sources of agricultural income were grain, fruit trees (chiefly the oil-olive and the vine) and pasture. In the South, not far from Eilat, there were copper mining and smelting works. The country's geographic position was also conducive to the development of international commerce, by land as well as by sea. Trade was carried on principally with the neighbouring countries, but it extended throughout the Mediterranean area, on one side, and by way of Eilat to East Africa and Southern Asia, on the other. Historians estimate that in Biblical times the population of the country reached five million inhabitants.

The Great Powers of ancient times—Egypt to the south of Israel, Assyria, Babylonia and Persia to the east and north—at various times aspired to extend their rule to the whole of West Asia and North Africa. In striving to do so they made war on each other and also sought to dominate the smaller states in the region. The Land of Israel stood in the way of imperialistic armies bent on conquest. Sometimes such armies would pass through the land by means of the coastal route without penetrating to the interior of the country or causing appreciable damage. On other occasions they would menace the country's very existence or clash with each other on its soil. As a result, the coastal region was generally more sparsely settled than the hilly portions of the country further inland.

In view of the geopolitical conditions prevailing in the country—its small size and geographic position, which made it so vulnerable to attack—its sovereignty and security were dependent on the nation's moral and physical capacity to defend itself and on its political ability to avoid entanglements in imperialist intrigues, at the same time finding allies to help it stand up against its great enemies. Periods of peace brought the country prosperity and economic and cultural growth; frequent wars involved it in grave dangers.

During the first few generations after their return from Egypt, the tribes of Israel lived in their own territories, without a fixed political framework to unite them. In this era the unifying forces were the common religious centre, the common language, culture and customs and the feeling of solidarity that impelled the tribes to come to each other's aid in times of crisis. The Judges who rose to prominence in one or another of the tribes, thanks to their personal qualities, occasionally attained the position of leaders recognized by all the tribes—provided they had sufficient personal prestige. In the end, however, the external dangers threatening the land hastened the advent of full political unification.

The state reached the peak of its power, in the Biblical period, during the reigns of David and his son Solomon. Jerusalem, founded by King David, was the religious, political and cultural capital of the state. Solomon devoted much of his attention and energy to the exploitation of mines, the development of international commerce and the establishment of a period of unprecedented prosperity and peace. Solomon built the Temple, the central shrine of the Jewish people.

After Solomon's death, the kingdom was split in two, into the Kingdom of Judah (ruled by the House of David) and the Kingdom of Israel, or Samaria. The dynasty of David was the more popular, the kings of Samaria being regarded as usurpers and tyrants. Thus, despite the political division, Jerusalem continued to serve as the religious, social and cultural centre of the nation.

But another unifying force exercised a great, and perhaps decisive, influence in the nation's direction and guidance—the power of the prophets. These men of the spirit, whose absolute independence in thought and utterance could not be questioned, did not hesitate to join issue, when they deemed it necessary, with the king, the priests and even the people. Held in high esteem by all, the prophets were generally regarded as the conscience of the nation and thus constituted its spiritual leadership. They also had considerable political influence in the life of the state.

THE BIBLE

From the spiritual culture that was created and nurtured in the country emerged religious, moral, political, literary and poetical values that found their classical literary expression in the Bible—a compilation of works produced over a span of several centuries and faithfully reflecting the life and times of the Jewish people during a period of close to 1,500 years. The historical and cultural picture that emerges from the Biblical account is confirmed by other ancient historiographic sources as well as by the archaeological excavations of our day.

Archaeological discoveries yet to be made will throw additional light, presumably, on many episodes mentioned but briefly in the Bible. The most ancient Biblical texts in our possession today are the "Dead Sea Scrolls", which were discovered by accident about ten years ago: they represent some of the greatest and most interesting archaeological discoveries of modern times.

In Hebrew, the Bible is called the "Book of Books" or "Twenty-four" (after the number of its constituent Books or parts)—or simply "The Book" or "T'nach" (a combination of the initials of the Hebrew names of the Bible's three main divisions). It is on account of the Bible that the Jews are sometimes referred to as the "People of the Book", and Israel as the "Land of the Book". For the Jews, the Bible constitutes a sacred book, as it does to the Christians, who frequently refer to it as the "Old Testament".

In the Koran—the holy book of the Moslems, several of whose basic religious principles are identical with Jewish principles—many stories from the Bible are related, although in a somewhat different version. The believers in the sanctity of the Bible are called "Men of the Book" in the Koran. For Islam, however, there is no intrinsic religious value in the Hebrew text of the Bible.

The Bible is divided into three principal divisions called "Torah" (Law), "Nebiim" (Prophets) and "Ketubim" (Writings). The Law, or the "Five Books of Moses" (Pentateuch), expounds the main body of laws and doctrines within a historical framework that begins with the Creation and goes on to describe the migration of Abraham, the first generations in the Land of Israel, the period of bondage in Egypt, the rise of Moses, the emancipation of the Children of Israel from Egyptian slavery, the Lawgiving, the wanderings in the desert and the death of Moses on the eve of the people's entry into the Promised Land.

The "Prophets" contain the continuation of the historical account, dealing with the period from the death of Moses to approximately 440 B.C.E. and the writings of the prophets. The term "prophet" has no connection whatever with soothsaying. The prophets were the teachers of the people. Their spirit dominated the eras in which they lived and their teachings have served as beacons of light to the Jewish people throughout the ages. These teachings have become part of the cultural heritage of mankind.

The prophets were individuals who, by virtue of their spiritual insight, rose to prominence from the ranks of the people; never did they constitute an organized group or force in the state. For the most part, they lived lives of poverty, serving as examples to the nation both in their personal conduct and in the views for which they fought unremittingly and uncompromisingly all their lives. They strove against formalism, preached the paramount importance of pure faith in God and of living a righteous life. Their main force was channelled into their fight for social justice, on the basis of the belief that the relationship between man and his fellow-man is the decisive factor in life and represents the key to man's relationship with God.

The prophets expressed their opinion on the political problems of the day, remonstrating against shortsighted policies and opposing treaties and alliances with the imperialist powers of that time. They declared that the moral fortitude of the nation and its faith in God would lend it strength in times of stress to resist more powerful enemies.

The prophets' doctrine of justice and right reflects a powerful inner faith and a great love of man. It finds cogent poetic expression in their utterances as recorded in the Bible. Hence the Bible's inspiring influence on so many peoples throughout the ages.

According to Biblical doctrine, God practises righteousness and requires it to be practised universally. "For the word of the Lord is right, and all his works are done in truth. He loveth righteousness and judgment: the earth is full of the goodness of the Lord." (Psalms 33:4,5) "And he shall judge the world in righteousness; he shall minister judgment to the people in uprightness." (Psalms 9:8) The prophet Hosea contends that righteousness is more important in God's eyes than religious worship: "For I desired mercy and not sacrifice, and the knowledge of God more than burnt offerings." (Hosea 6:6) And Amos says, in the name of God: "I hate, I despise your feast days . . . Take thou away from me the noise of thy songs, for I will not hear the melody of thy viols: But let judgment run down as waters, and righteousness as a mighty stream." (Amos 5:21, 23—24) The keynote of Jewish law we find in the Fifth Book of Moses, where the injunction is given: "Justice, justice shalt thou pursue." (Deuteronomy 16:20) The prophet Isaiah says: "Keep ye judgment and do justice . . ." (Isaiah 56:1) The prophet Jeremiah goes into detail: "Execute ye judgment and righteousness, and deliver him that is robbed out of the hand of the oppressor; and the stranger, the fatherless, and the widow shall ye not oppress, and do them no violence, and shed no innocent blood." (Jeremiah 22:3)

The ideal, upright person is defined, in the Book of Psalms, as follows: "He that walketh uprightly and worketh righteousness and speaketh the truth in his heart; he that backbiteth not with his tongue, nor doeth evil to his neighbour, nor taketh up a reproach against his neighbour; in whose eyes a vile person is contemned, but he honoureth them that fear the Lord; he that sweareth to his own hurt and changeth not; he that putteth not out his money to usury, nor taketh reward against the innocent." (Psalms 15:2—5).

Charity begins at home: Isaiah yearns for the day when Jerusalem, "the faithful city", will once again be "full of judgment" and there will be a return to the times when "righteousness lodged in it". (Isaiah 1:21) But, of course, he wants all the world to learn to act justly: " . . . For when thy judgments are in the earth, the inhabitants of the world will learn righteousness." (Isaiah 26:9) Isaiah (28:17) says that in righteousness there is no compromise: "And I will make of justice a measuring line and of righteousness a plummet."

The Law orders the appointment of magistrates to judge the people in righteousness, instructing them as follows: "Hear the causes between your brethren and judge righteously between every man and his brother, and the stranger that is with him. Ye shall not respect persons in judgment, but ye shall hear the small as well as the great; ye shall not be afraid of the face of man . . ." (Deuteronomy 1:16—17).

Great was the prophets' zeal for social justice. Amos rebukes his contemporaries "because they sold the righteous for silver, and the poor for a pair of shoes". (Amos 2:6) Nor did he hesitate to rebuke the wealthy ladies of his time—"ye kine of Bashan, that are in the mountain of Samaria, which oppress the poor, which crush the needy, which say to their masters, Bring, and let us drink." (Amos 4:1) Jeremiah remonstrates: "Woe unto him that buildeth his house by unrighteousness, and his chambers by wrong; that useth his neighbour's service without wages, and giveth him not for his work." (Jeremiah 22:13).

No one was immune to the prophets' criticism: not even royalty was spared. Thus when King Ahab coveted the vineyard of Naboth the Jezreelite and had him executed on a fraudulent charge so as to expropriate his land, the prophet Elijah courageously confronted him with his deed: "Hast thou killed and also taken possession? . . . In the place where dogs licked the blood of Naboth shall dogs lick thy blood, even thine." (I Kings 21:19)

The third and final section of the Bible—the Book of Writings—comprises a large number of literary works, of which we shall mention but a few.

The Psalms (in Hebrew, "Tehilim") constitute an anthology of ancient Hebrew poetry extolling God, the Father of all mankind, and describing in glowing terms the beauty of the homeland—without, however, stooping to chauvenistic nationalism: for Israel must prove to be a blessing to all mankind. The Psalmist also sings of the blessings of unity and of brotherly love: "Behold, how good and how pleasant it is for brethren to dwell together in unity: it is like the precious ointment upon the head . . ." (Psalms 133:1—2)

The Book of Job poses the problem, "Why do the righteous suffer?", in a series of dramatic dialogues between Job and his friends.

King Solomon's "Song of Songs" immortalizes the beauty of the Shulamite, "fairest among women", exalting the bride and bridegroom as queen and king. "Set me as a seal upon thine arm; for love is strong as death, jealousy is cruel as the grave . . . Many waters cannot quench love, neither can the flood drown it; if a man would give all the substance of his house for love, it would be utterly contemned."

Simplicity of narrative and purity of style mark the Book of Ruth, a moving story of human devotion that topples national and religious barriers, against a backdrop of Jewish pastoral life.

In ancient times already, the Bible was translated into Aramaic, Greek and other ancient tongues. Since then it has been translated into most of the languages in the world. In this sense, the Bible has probably no equal.

The translation into other languages served, in a number of instances, as an impetus for the development of the language and literature of the nation concerned. Indeed, many translations—though by no means all—succeeded in conveying, to a certain degree, the rich, picturesque and yet concise style and the inspiring poetic beauty that characterize this work in its original tongue.

EXTERNAL PRESSURES – INTERNAL DEMOCRACY

With the end of the era described in the Bible—which corresponds, roughly, to the era of Buddha in India and of Confucius and Lao-Tse in China—there began a period in which foreign conquerors brought disaster to the land. Among these invaders were the Babylonians, the Persians and the heirs of the empire of Alexander the Great, those of the Ptolemaic dynasty, whose centre was in Alexandria, Egypt, and those of the Seleucid dynasty from Antioch, Syria.

This period lasted 450 years. Despite their determination and their patriotic zeal, the Jews found themselves unable to resist successfully these powerful forces of the ancient world swooping down on their land from time to time. Nevertheless, they became a thorn in the flesh of most of their conquerors.

Many West-Asian peoples and states of that time disappeared without a trace, after being overrun by foreign armies. In most cases the remnants of these peoples (those who had not been cut down by the sword) were assimilated among the victors, giving up their freedom in return for their lives. The moral fortitude of the Jews in that period was incomparably greater than the brute force of the foreign conqueror. One after another these foreign tyrants learned that it was not enough to vanquish the Jews militarily; in order to complete the victory and crush the people of the Book it was necessary to root out their religious faith and to destroy their moral strength. Certainly, there is no city in the whole world that has been razed so many times as Jerusalem, only to struggle back to life again: it has always remained the religious, cultural, political and social centre of the Jewish people.

Although the country (from then onward most commonly referred to as "Judah" or "Judea") lost its political sovereignty in this period, its internal consolidation grew steadily. With the completion of the Bible, two institutions developed into the focal point of intellectual life in the land and a bastion of political power based on a well-defined system of internal democracy: the Sanhedrin (or Council of Seventy-One) and the synagogue.

The Sanhedrin was both a legislative body and a high court of justice. Its jurisdiction, in the religious and social fields, was sometimes recognized by the foreign power in authority, sometimes not. The synagogues that began to spring up all over the land served not only as houses of worship but also as local rallying-points and as educational institutions for young and old alike.

Persecution and tension were greatest in the time of Antiochus Epiphanes the Seleucid, who determined to destroy Judaism—by fire, pillage and murder, the profanation of holy places, the prohibition of Jewish religious worship and the forcible substitution of Hellenism. An unprecedented wave of bloodshed and destruction swept the land, and the country was laid waste. In the village of Modiin, the Maccabees, or Hasmoneans, issued a national call to arms. The organized, country-wide uprising that followed dealt a resound ing military blow to the Hellenist-Syrian army and resulted in the restoration of the country's independence. For the second time in Jewish history, foreign oppression gave way to freedom, and servitude to national independence.

The victory over the Hellenists—which was as much the triumph of an idea as it was a military triumph—is commemorated every year, down to the present day, in the eight-day festival of "Hannukah", also known as the Feast of Lights. The festival begins with the lighting of one light on the first night, the number being progressively increased on each succeeding night until it reaches its climax of eight on the last night of the festival.

For more than a hundred years the Jews once again enjoyed absolute independence in their land. It was an era of economic prosperity and of a flourishing cultural and social life. Agriculture thrived, ports were built and international trade expanded. During most of this period there was peace in the land.

But meanwhile there arose the dark threat of the most powerful empire of the ancient world: Rome. In the hundred years that followed the period of freedom and independence under the Maccabeans, the Romans sought to bolster their influence in Judea by means of King Herod and his sons, who, in effect, were Roman puppets—as such, hated by the people. Nonetheless, King Herod was the greatest builder the Land of Israel had ever seen. He rebuilt the Temple in Jerusalem, transforming it into one of the most magnificent edifices in the ancient world. He also constructed the port of Caesarea as well as numerous public buildings and fortifications.

But he ruled the people without pity, ruthlessly crushing all opposition, real or imagined, and he incurred the wrath of his subjects to such an extent that on several occasions he had to flee from his palace in Jerusalem to seek refuge elsewhere.

After the reign of the Herodian dynasty came to an end, the Romans assumed direct rule of the country. Terror and oppression increased until, in the year 66 C.E., the Jews took up arms against their tormentors in what came to be known in Jewish history as the Great Revolt; Roman historians called it the War of the Jews.

The rebellion spread rapidly to all parts of the country, with the provinces of Judea and Galilee particularly active. In its early stages, the Jews managed to expel the Romans from the country and to transfer authority to the Sanhedrin.

Vespasian was in command of the Roman legions. After he was proclaimed Imperator in Rome, he made his son Titus commander of the Roman forces. In the year 70, Titus besieged Jerusalem. After one of the bitterest and bloodiest battles in the annals of mankind, the last stages of which were conducted from street to street and from house to house, Titus seized the city. He burned down the Temple, the nation's spiritual centre and the symbol of its unity, robbed the city of its food stores, cut off its water supply and took the leading survivors captive to Rome.

The last of the rebels shut themselves up on Massada, a natural mountain-fortress in the Judean Desert, near the shores of the Dead Sea. The subterranean food magazines and water reservoirs on Massada are the objects of admiration and astonishment to the present day.

Surrounded by the Romans, the defenders on the rock of Massada held out as long as their stores lasted; when these were exhausted, they committed mass-suicide rather than yield to the Roman tyrant.

Thus ended the last stand of a small, independent nation against the onslaught of a mighty world power. The remains of the ancient fort on the rocky plateau—one of the most majestic and picturesque spots in Israel—stand as a vivid memorial to the spirit of men who knew for what they had lived and died. The Roman colossus valued greatly its victory in the "War of the Jews". Upon his return to Rome, Titus erected three memorials in honour of the conquest, one of them the famous "Arch of Titus" in the Via Sacra, which stands in the Italian capital to this day. The Arch bears a series of reliefs showing the Roman soldiers carrying off their booty. Included in the loot is the seven-branched candelabrum from the Temple in Jerusalem—the ancient symbol of the Jewish people that serves today as the official seal of the State of Israel.

For hundreds of years, the Jews living in Rome avoided the hated Arch, taking care never to pass beneath it.

THE EXILE

Thus the Romans, in the year 70 C.E., put an end to the political independence of the Jewish State. But the struggle of the Jews against Rome by no means ceased, and the Romans quite correctly continued to see in them the bitterest and most dangerous foes of the empire.

In an attempt to break the people's spirit, the victors used a number of additional measures following their military triumph. They tried to weaken the population by deportations, in particular by the persecution and dispersion of the nation's leading figures; they started a policy of enforced assimilation, both among the communities still living on their soil and among the Jewish exiles abroad in other parts of the Roman Empire.

During the reign of the Emperor Trajan, in the year 115 C.E., 45 years after the suppression of the Great Revolt and the destruction of Jerusalem, a second Jewish revolt broke out in Cyrenaica (a part of what is today Libya) and spread to other parts of the Empire. The rebels' early successes encouraged other subjugated nations to join the revolt, making this rebellion one of the most extensive, with regard to the number of participating nations, to rock the Roman Empire.

As a direct outcome of this revolt, which lasted three years, the Romans expelled the Jewish exiles living in Cyprus. This was the first expulsion of its kind—from one country outside the homeland to another such country—in Jewish history. From then on, expulsions of this sort became a regular feature in the life of the Jewish exiles, down to the middle of the 20th century.

The War of Bar-Kochba began in the year 132. With the active moral support of the nation's spiritual leadership, Simon Bar-Kochba succeeded in seizing Jerusalem, driving the Romans from the country and maintaining an independent Jewish regime for more than two years.

The Romans struck back in force, and this brief spell of Jewish sovereignty ended in 135, after a heroic last stand at Bethar. Emperor Hadrian devastated what was left of Jerusalem, erecting in its place a Roman city, which he called Aelia Capitolina. He filled the country with soldiers and army camps, sold many Jews into slavery and prohibited the practice of Judaism on pain of death.

From this time until the end of Roman and Byzantine rule in the early part of the Seventh Century—in other words, for some 500 years—the Jews were forbidden to set foot in Jerusalem. The country became more and more feeble as it passed from one conqueror to the next and, in the process, was gradually drained of its inhabitants. It did not regain its independence until the rebirth of Israel in 1948.

Through the years the nation's leaders regarded it as their prime task to strengthen the inner moral force of the people. In this they succeeded. The people waited, in patience and forbearance, for that happier day when the evil regime would pass from the land—an attitude that gave the Jews the spiritual fortitude to endure the many trials and tribulations they had to undergo.

Indeed, during the 500 years that followed Titus, destruction of Jerusalem, Jewish morale was high. There was a gerat spiritual renascence in the country that found expression in extensive literary and cultural creativity. Inspiring the people's newly-won restraint and creativity was the Messianic idea.

The Messianic idea was the yearning for, and belief in, the future—a future in which the Jewish people and the entire human race would live again, free from foreign domination. The rule of justice for the whole world would replace tyranny. Once more Israel would be a free nation on its own soil. Powerless to strike back at their oppressors whenever hopelessness and the dire hardships of the present threatened to overcome them, the Jewish people found comfort in this Messianic vision—the vision of a future full of beauty and splendour.

This faith, coupled with their spiritual tradition, enabled the Jews to maintain their national identity during the centuries. The memory of freedom in their native land was so deeply enshrined in the religious and institutional life of the people that it remained a living reality in their consciousness. To the Jew, Jerusalem (or Zion) became not merely the site of sacred memories, a city he was forbidden to behold, but a lodestar in all his sufferings—whether he lived in Palestine or in exile abroad—and his eventual haven.

Wherever fate had brought him, he would turn, in prayer, in the direction of the Holy City of Jerusalem. Even while in exile in the most distant countries, he continued to pray for rain and dew in the seasons when the soil of Palestine needed them. Jewish liturgy is permeated with supplications for the ingathering of the exiles and the rebuilding of Jerusalem "speedily in our days". At the hour of midnight, the devout Jew would rise, seat himself on the floor, cover his head with ashes in mourning for the destruction of Zion and pray for her redemption. "Next year in Jerusalem" became the concluding plea of the solemn Passover and Atonement rituals.

At birth, marriage and death, as well as upon the erection of a new house, symbolic rites recalled the hope for the Restoration. The longing for the Restoration also formed the central theme in Hebrew literature throughout the ages. It dominated Jewish law. It permeated the whole organization of Jewish life.

Following the suppression of the Bar-Kochba Revolt, political conditions grew worse from day to day. Nevertheless, the Jews found consolation in

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the position of the Sanhedrin, which continued its existence for another 300 years. Since the Sanhedrin was barred—along with all Jews—from Jerusalem, this supreme legal and judicial body moved its seat from one place in the country to another, constantly on the watch for an opportunity to reinstate its headquarters in Jerusalem. Academies of learning were established in various parts of the country. In the year 200, Judah, President of the Sanhedrin, edited the Mishnah, a six-volume compilation of Jewish laws and customs—the product of 300 years of academic study and research.

The linguistic style of the Mishhah is different from that of the Bible and reflects the development of the Hebrew language by the use of new terms for new concepts. There is little wonder that precisely this archaic yet graceful and singular style has been adopted and revitalized in our day by two of Israel's leading prose writers—S. Y. Agnon and Moshe Shamir.

In the early part of the Fourth Century, Roman ill-treatment of its Jewish subjects became even worse. Until that time the Romans had looked upon the Jews primarily as political foes. With the proclamation of Christianity as the state religion, religious hate became an additional motive for the oppression of the Jews.

The persecution of the Jews in their land was intensified, the practice of their religion often officially outlawed. Every effort was made to suppress their physical as well as their spiritual existence.

Notwithstanding this repressive policy, the Jews stubbornly preserved their religion and customs. With the conclusion in 375 of what is known as the Jerusalem Talmud, they reached another milestone in their spiritual march. Compiled and edited in the city of Tiberias,[1] the Talmud is a great storehouse of law, religion, literature, science, historiography and the geography of Palestine and the Middle East. As such, it is an important source of the study of life in Western Asia in that period, as well as of research into the history of science.

After the split of the Roman Empire into western (Roman) and eastern (Byzantine) empires, and the subsequent collapse of Rome, Israel fell more under the dominion of the intolerant Byzantine Church than under the temporal ruler of the empire. In 529 the Codex of the Emperor Justinian made anti-Semitism, or hatred of the Jews, the law of the empire, since it debased the Jews to the level of subjects without rights or protection under the law and forbade them to work the land.

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[1] Although compiled in Tiberias, since the Jews at that time were barred from the Holy City, this work continued to be known as the "Jerusalem Talmud"—after the city in which it was begun and from which the editors drew their inspiration.

But the Jews of Palestine were still strong enough to raise the banner of rebellion against these barbaric restrictions on their lives and their freedom.

In the year 614, when the Persian army approached the country's borders from the east, Benjamin of Tiberias mustered a force of 20,000 fighting men and allied himself to the Persians. Together they drove the Byzantine rulers out of the land.

The Jews were not to enjoy the fruits of their triumph for long, however: fifteen years later the Byzantine army returned to recapture Palestine from the Persians. Thousands of Jews were killed and dozens of synagogues devasted as the returning tyrants laid waste the country.

In spite of the ruthless persecution at the hands of the rulers—or, possibly, because of it—the country-wide construction of school-synagogues continued unabated. The remains of many of these buildings, uncovered in the last thirty years, give evidence of the high order of craftsmanship that went into their construction and decoration.

The corrupt and degenerate nature of the Byzantine regime, and its long record of persecution and repression in Israel, gave the Jews ample reason for regarding the crushing defeat of Byzantium, at the hands of Caliph Omar's forces in 638, as well-deserved. The Jews welcomed the Caliph's armies, which struck their bitterest enemy a fatal blow.

At the beginning the rule of the Caliphs eased the anti-Jewish restrictions. The Jews were permitted to return to Jerusalem, access to which had been denied them, by the Romans and Byzantines, for the better part of 500 years. They enjoyed also a certain degree of religious toleration, as granted by Moslem law to the "Protected" or "Men of the Book". Throughout the Middle Ages there was close cooperation in various fields of endeavour, and particularly the sciences, between Jews and Arabs, Persians and other groups in the Moslem countries.

Despite this positive situation, Omar II imposed restrictive regulations in the Eighth Century. Under these restrictions, the "Protected" became second-class citizens: they were permitted to worship according to their faith but forbidden, for example, to build new synagogues in Palestine or to repair existing ones. Harsh and oppressive laws were imposed in the economic and social spheres, such as the levying of heavy special taxes, the prohibition against riding on horseback, the obligation to wear a special kind of dress—prototypes of discriminatory anti-Semitic practices adopted by numerous countries in later generations.

During most of the Middle Ages—and practically down to the present day—constant warfare raged throughout the Middle East. Great and small empires rose and fell. The Land of Israel was an impoverished and administratively neglected province under all its rulers. Nevertheless, the Jews managed to keep a foothold in their land, at times even attaining to periods of relative prosperity. In the year 985 the Jerusalem-born Arab geographer Mukaddasi described the Jews as the leading element in Jerusalem. The conquest of Palestine by the Fatimids was carried out with the help of Jewish advice, after their predecessors had ruled the land with particular severity. But the Seljuk invaders added to the country's devastation.

The conquest of Palestine by the Crusaders in 1099 brought in its wake a wave of persecution with the aim of weakening the Jewish population and of strengthening the foreign element in the country. But the Jews survived this terrible era. Despite the cruel savagery of the period, large numbers of Jews returned to their land from the countries of their exile. In 1211, for instance, 300 rabbis came from France and England to settle in Jerusalem and Hebron.

After the Crusaders came the Mamelukes and the Mongolians, who ravaged Palestine and other countries in the region during a period lasting some 300 years. The Egyptians, for example, tend to attribute Egypt's weakness to the present day to the 250 years of Mameluke domination. But if Egypt fared badly under the Mamelukes, Palestine suffered even more. While in Egypt the Mamelukes carried out a certain amount of constructive work, this was not the case in Palestine. This poor and small country was unimportant apart from its geographical position, which made it a battlefield for foreign forces fighting for alien interests. The land has been crossed and re-crossed innumerable times by the armies of countless tyrants, inflicting upon it, in passing, all the miseries of pillage, rape and murder.

The savagery of Mameluke rule moved the Jews to cooperate with the Ottoman Sultan Suleiman the Magnificent, who defeated the Mamelukes in 1517 and conquered the entire Middle East.

Despite the harsh conditions prevailing at the close of the Middle Ages, cultural life in the cities of Palestine flourished—particularly in Jerusalem, Hebron, Safed and Tiberias. This spiritual efflorescence led, in the 16th Century, to the most pronounced religious ferment since the Byzantine era and to an extensive philosophical literature in which the Messianic idea occupies a pivotal place. This culture grew and developed into the modern rebirth, in the 19th Century, of the social and political thought of the Jewish people, its literature, poetry, science and philosophy.

At the beginning of their rule, during the 16th and 17th Centuries, the Ottoman Sultans allowed Jews expelled from Spain to go to Israel. Subsequently, however, they tried to prevent this movement. Nevertheless, in spite of these efforts, a number of Jews succeeded in returning to the Homeland. On the whole, conditions under the rule of the Ottoman Empire steadily deteriorated, so that the process of degeneration that had set in centuries before continued until about the middle of the 19th Century.

As a result of the policy of persecution and banishment followed by the various conquering forces in the Land of Israel, a large number of the country's inhabitants were driven to seek havens in foreign lands. The terms "Exile" and "Dispersion" (or "Diaspora") came to denote the aggregate of all the world's countries—outside the Land of Israel—where Jews lived. As the situation at home grew worse in the course of the centuries, the relative number of Jews beyond the borders of the land increased.

But they found no peace in other countries. They were persecuted, in greater or lesser degree, in nearly all lands where they found refuge—a fact that led to the scattering of the exiles to all parts of the globe: they sought any spot on earth that offered safety from persecution, albeit temporary. There is hardly a country in the world where, in the course of the centuries, Jews have not lived at one time or another. Both in the East and in the West there were many countries that exterminated or banished their Jewish populations.

The tragic position of the exiled Jewish communities—whose members were driven, on the one hand, from place to place but, on the other, were denied the possibility of returning to their own land—made the lot of these exiles a bitter one. They found consolation in remembrance of the Land of Israel and in nurturing the hope of one day returning to it. Down through the centuries, the Jews, wherever they were, maintained their ties with the Holy Land—physical ties, when this was possible; when not, their spiritual ties.

They did this not only because they were persecuted wherever they went but also because they felt a deep and abiding love for their country and for their spiritual heritage, which could be realized fully only on the soil of their homeland. This common fate militated against all the attempts—by force and by persuasion—to make Jews assimilate into the populations of the countries in which they lived. They clung instead to their national, religious and cultural traditions.

Again and again they tried to return home, but successes were few and far between. As long as they were unable to return, they did all in their power to keep up their contact with the Land, drawing inspiration from it, accepting its authority in spiritual matters, helping their brethren in the homeland, politically and economically, to withstand their oppressors. Many Jews, unable to go to Palestine in the course of their lives, arranged that their remains should be buried there after their death, if financial and political conditions permitted.

In the famous subterranean catacombs at Beit Shearim there are hundreds of graves of Jews brought there from abroad at the beginning of the Second Century. In the huge cemetery on the Mount of Olives, in Jerusalem, and in various other burial grounds all over the country, thousands of graves of such returned wanderers have been found, dating back to various periods.

At the end of the Roman era there were Jews living both in Western Asia, beyond the eastern boundary of the Empire, and within the Empire itself—Italy, Egypt and North Africa. From the beginning the majority of Jewish exiles lived in the countries of the East, to which they felt a closer cultural affinity, and which were further removed from Rome.

With the ascendancy of Byzantium and the intensification of the persecution of Jews in Palestine in the Fourth and Fifth Centuries, the Jewish community in Babylonia (Iraq) became a spiritual centre enjoying high prestige. Academies of learning were established in three places—Nehardea, Sura and Pumbedita—where the scholars of the day convened to study the ancient Jewish sources and to interpret Jewish law, taking care to remain in constant touch with their scholar-colleagues in the homeland.

The fruits of their study and research were later compiled, about 600 C.E., into a work consisting of 37 books known as the Babylonian Talmud (to distinguish it from its predecessor, the Jerusalem Talmud, published some 200 years earlier in Tiberias).

The Babylonian Talmud, written partly in Hebrew and partly in Aramaic, the local language, includes both legal (Halakhah) and narrative material (Hagadah)—the latter comprising anecdotes on subjects connected with philosophy, ethics, geography, history, folklore, literature, science and contemporary life in the East in general and the Jewish community in particular.

Scientific themes dealt with in the Hagadah include medicine, astronomy and mathematics, which reflect to a certain extent the influence of Persian and Indian thought. The Hagadah was a breath of fresh air helping to bring comfort and cheer to the Jewish communities in the Land as well as abroad in times of physical hardship and suffering. Its spiritual significance may be summed up in the following saying: "If you wish to know Him who called the universe into being—study the Hagadah."

After the war against Titus and the fall of Jerusalem in 70 C.E., many Jewish refugees fled to the Arabian peninsula where, in the 200 years that preceded the advent of Islam, they made their mark on the cultural and political life of the region. Like the Arabs around them, these Jews also lived within a tribal framework, the best known being the Kainuka, Nadhir and Kuraiza tribes. The largest Jewish centres were at Yatreb (or Medina) and at Khaibar.

Among the Jews living in Arabia at this time were a number of poets who wrote in Arabic, the outstanding one among them being Samuel (Samawal) ben Adaya—who lived at the beginning of the Sixth Century and is considered one of the classic poets of ancient Arabic literature. His poetry is full of the yearning for liberty, for perfection and for the finer human qualities. Arab tradition associates him with the concept of supreme fidelity; hence the phrase "faithful as Samuel ben Adaya" in Arabic literature.

Many historians hold that Jewish influence in Arabia created a favourable climate for the appearance of Islam. Indeed, when the prophet Mohammed began to propagate the new faith, friendly relations prevailed between him and the Jews of Arabia. Their refusal, however, to accept Islam altered the situation and eventually brought about their banishment from Hejaz.

A large number of these expelled Jews succeeded in returning to the Land of Israel. They settled in Jericho.

The Jews living in Yemen attained a position of considerable political influence in the Sixth Century. Afterwards, however, their life in that country was attended by great hardship, which continued until the present era, when it ended in their complete evacuation to Israel.

With the spread of Islam in the Middle East, North Africa and Spain and the ascendancy, over the years, of a series of Moslem empires in these regions, the Jews took an active part in the area's cultural life and scientific endeavour. The entire scientific and philosophical revival in the Middle Ages, in fact, is almost inconceivable without cultural cooperation between these two Eastern peoples—the Jews and the Arabs—in the Middle East and in Spain.

During this epoch the condition of the Jews in these places was better, relatively speaking, than that of the European Jews. Individuals who rose to positions of influence at the Fatimid court, or at the court of the Caliphate in Spain, were able to make use of their positions to ease the sufferings of the Jewish inhabitants of Palestine and the Diaspora.

There were, nevertheless, periods of religious fanaticism and religious persecution. These were usually connected with the frequent changes in the ruling clique and the accompanying intrigues and wars, in the course of which the Jews fell victim, again and again, to the discriminatory and repressive practices instituted by Omar II.

The deline of the Middle East at the end of the Middle Ages caused particular hardships to the Jews. Ignorance and bigotry held full sway. In many places the Jewish population suffered persecution and extreme poverty; it was reduced to a fraction of what it had been.

Especially bitter was the lot of Europe's Jews—not only in the Middle Ages but even until the Twentieth Century. They were subjected to racial and religious persecution without parallel in history. The dispersion and homelessness of the Jews made them, to the mediaeval European, objects of uncanny fear and hatred. To him they were ghosts—Asians who had dared invade Europe, Oriental souls wandering about the world.

The distrust and hatred of the "stranger", which is generally characteristic of the primitive mind, was accentuated in the case of the Europeans by the Jews' refusal to accept the dominant Christian creed. This refusal placed them outside the pale of European society. The decrees of the Byzantine Emperor Justinian (529), which forbade the Jews to acquire or to cultivate land, were applied in all their severity. The Jews were debased as much as possible so as to serve as living examples of the prevailing doctrine that God was punishing them for their refusal to adopt the Christian faith.

The result was an almost unparalleled martyrdom. For centuries massacres and expulsions were the order of the day in the life of the Jews of Europe, who were made the scapegoats of every war, uprising and plague that broke out. In the 11th and 12th Centuries, the Christian Crusaders, heading for Asia to make war on the Moslems and Jews living there, slaughtered thousands of Jews in the European countries through which they passed.

In this era began the confinement of the Jewish communities in most European towns and cities into ghettos. The ghetto was a walled, densely-populated district which served as the enforced home of all the Jews of the town. Locked by night and opened by day at the discretion of public officials, the ghettos served as instruments of segregation, humiliation and persecution. Compelled to wear a distinctive yellow badge, the Jew was frequently exposed to mob violence.

In the year 1492 the Jews of Spain were banished from that country, only those who accepted the Catholic faith being allowed to remain. The regime of the Inquisition—in Spain and other countries—resulted in the savage extermination even of those who remained under the guise of being converts to Catholicism. As a warning to the people, the victims of the Inquisition were burned en masse in public places and on previously announced dates.

This intolerable state of affairs led to constant migrations, both within Europe and from Europe to other lands. The atrocities perpetrated after the outbreak of the Black Plague in the 14th and 15th Centuries drove large numbers of Jews from Germany to Poland and Lithuania. The Jews expelled from Spain went, for the most part, to Holland, Italy and various parts of the Ottoman Empire.

At the end of the Middle Ages Jews were concentrated, on the one hand, in Poland and Russia, on the other, in the Middle East. In the 19th Century the persecution of the Jews in Czarist Russia and in Rumania caused a wave of migration from Eastern to Western Europe and to America.

Anti-Semitism, or the hatred of Jews, was the distinguishing mark of the entire European continent up to the start of the 19th Century. But it lingered, in one form or another, even afterwards in most countries. In Czarist Russia, anti-Semitism reached its peak at the turn of the century, with the institution of the "pale of settlement", a small restricted area outside of which Jews were forbidden to live, apart from other political, economic and social discriminatory measures, as well as pogroms.

"Pogrom", a Russian word meaning devastation, has since become a synonym in many languages for the slaughter of Jews.

In Germany, too, anti-Semitism was very strong in the 19th Century, expressed particularly in political and social discrimination. The utmost excess of barbarism, however, which shocked the conscience of humanity, was reached by the Nazis of this century, who systematically and cold-bloodedly exterminated six million Jews within their domain.

It would appear that any cross-section of Jewish history suffices to reveal the most brutal savagery of which the human race is capable. But it also shows what is needed to bring peace to the world and to the nations that inhabit it.

In spite of all that happened to the Jews at home and in their dispersion, they survived. A progressive world must give every nation, large or small, a fair chance to survive and to develop freely in every sense, within the framework of the family of nations. It is therefore essential for the world to vouchsafe peace and freedom to all, without discrimination: freedom and peace are indivisible, and so long as these are not assured to all peoples, the world itself cannot be sure of its continued welfare and progress.

In the 19th Century, when more and more minds began to search for a cure for the ailments of the human race, the Jews likewise started looking for a solution of their problems—or of the "Jewish Question", as it was then called. They found it.

ISRAEL'S SPIRITUAL HERITAGE

JUDAISM IS THE SPIRITUAL CIVILIZATION crystallized by the Jewish People and originating in Judea, or the Land of Israel. Its fundamental values have become a universal heritage and an integral part of human culture. The basic ethical and moral principles taught by the Bible and the Prophets of Israel have exercised a particular influence on the teachings of Christianity and Islam. Judaism is a faith, as well as a comprehensive philosophy and a way of life both for the individual and for society.

One God. Monotheism, or the belief in one God, is Judaism's greatest religious contribution to the spiritual growth of the human race. The Jewish attitude, by and large, assumes that "God is". This Truth cannot be improved by rationalization, nor by philosophical or theological speculation. Attributes ascribed to God by men are merely human attempts to express a reality that no man is really able to describe. The statement of the abstract idea of God, the cardinal concept of Jewish faith, is embodied in the answer to Moses' question as to how he should describe God:

> "And God said unto Moses, I AM THAT I AM; and He said: this shalt thou say unto the children of Israel: I AM hath sent you." (*Bible, Book of Exodus* 2:14)

"God is One"—indivisible, universal, "the whole earth is full of His glory", "He has no Beginning and no End". He is "Lord", "Supreme Being", "Creator", "Author", "First Cause" and "Ruler of the Universe". "Everything was created by his Word".

Profession of the Unity of God is the supreme expression of faith and the last utterance of the conscious dying Jew. There is no place for priestly intervention between man and God.

Man's "Free Will". Man is "taught" the right way, but he has "free will" or "freedom of choice" as to the way he actually takes in life. Being free to choose, the adult individual is personally responsible for his deeds: his religious behaviour—"between man and God"—and his social behaviour—"between man and his fellow". Judaism emphasizes man's ability, within limits, to influence his own destiny. God has given man the power to think and the ability to act; he possesses, therefore, a large measure of free will, so that he may improve his ways, those of the society in which he lives and those of the world of which he is a part. Faith, it is true, is most important, and man must realize the limitations of this world; but his actions must be governed by the understanding that "Heaven helps those who help themselves".

Justice. Judaism, while believing in an afterlife, imposes upon man the duty to build on earth a life moulded on the basic principles of social justice. No real union with God can be achieved so long as human injustices remain unremedied. No confession of sin is of any value unless it be accompanied by a righting of the wrong. Like a continuous motto, there runs through Judaism, from its earliest days, the Biblical cry of "Justice, justice shalt thou pursue!" Judaism condemns oppression and exploitation in every form. Particular care must be accorded to those on whom misfortune has fallen. The poor, the widow, the orphan and the stranger in the land are entitled to special treatment. "And thou shalt not oppress a stranger," says the Bible (Exodus 23:9), "for ye know the heart of a stranger, seeing ye were strangers in the land of Egypt." The laws governing the State of Israel in ancient times, as recorded in the Bible and as developed by tradition, provided against excesses of wealth and of its counterpart—the creation of an impoverished and downtrodden class.

Judaism requires the humane treatment of animals. Even the land must not be exploited but must "rest"—i.e., lie fallow—one year in seven.

These concepts of social justice, as they have been set forth in the Bible, have had a marked influence on present-day thinking, on the nature of social justice as we understand it today and on the idea of world socialism. In modern times, the reborn State of Israel is trying by various means—such as national ownership of land and the kibbutz (communal settlement) type of cooperation —to give expression to these basic principles.

Universal Freedom and Human Liberty. The liberation of the Children of Israel from the "house of bondage" in Egypt, about 3,500 years ago, in order that they might return, as free men, to the Promised Land, heralded the birth of a faith and of a nation. The event is commemorated every year in a seven-day festival called "Pessah" (Passover)—"Festival of Freedom", "Festival of Redemption and Deliverance". It is little wonder, therefore, that the Jewish People have always abhorred the institution of slavery: "And thou shalt remember that thou wast a bondman in the land of Egypt." The concepts of national freedom and individual liberty were thus sanctified as basic elements in Jewish religion and culture.

Love of Man, Dignity of the Individual, Equality of the Human Race. It is not sufficient to vouchsafe liberty to all. Since man "was created in the image of God", the life and personal dignity of each and every individual are sacrosanct. The Jew is admonished not to humiliate his fellow in public. And—"He who saves one soul, it is as if he had saved an entire world." All men are equal, and all who live a virtuous life based on ethical principles have, according to Judaism, equal rights in the eyes of God, whether they are Jews or not; they belong to the "righteous of the nations of the world". "Thou shalt not kill . . . Thou shalt not steal . . . Thou shalt not covet thy neighbour's wife . . ." says the Bible. The injunction of Hillel the Sage, one of Israel's greatest spiritual leaders, was that "what is distasteful unto thee, do not do unto thy neighbour". Man must show love and understanding for every divinely-created being: "And thou shalt love thy neighbour as thyself."

Democracy. Judaism precludes the emergence of any kind of personality cult. No one enjoys any exclusive rights so far as the relationship between people and God is concerned, and none certainly can lay claim to innate supernatural powers. Moses was the first and the greatest in a line of prophets who were essentially teachers. He was not infallible. The Bible records that when he did wrong, he was punished.

Basically, Judaism requires a democratic form of government. While the Jewish State, in ancient times, was under monarchic rule, the prophet—as the teacher and spiritual leader of the nation, and in many instances, one of the king's closest advisers—usually served as a check on the regent's ambitions and as an effective barrier against tyranny.

After the Jews lost their national independence through the Roman conquest of their land, the centre of political life passed to the synagogue (the "house of gathering"). It was here that a self-contained democracy was forged that made it possible for the Jewish People to comprise a state within a state when the foreign conqueror sought to crush them. The deeply ingrained internal democracy was a source of strength for Jewish communities during the long periods of persecution and suffering. This heritage is to be seen today throughout various aspects of public life in Israel.

Labour: A Duty. Unlike other civilizations, past and present, which idealized the leisured class, Judaism set a pattern of work in the very image of God "labouring for six days" in the creation of the world, Labour and all physical work is thus held by Judaism not to be demeaning but, on the contrary, ennobling.

There is a whole chain of Jewish thinkers—from the prophets of old to A.D. Gordon in modern times—who have laid great stress on the sanctity of labour and manual work. The teachers and rabbis of most periods in Jewish history earned their living not from scholarship but as tillers of the soil, as carpenters and as shoemakers. The Talmud—a voluminous compilation of Jewish legal discussions and moral dictums—says that "he who does not teach his son a trade, it is as if he had taught him infidelity."

The spiritual value of labour has found expression, in modern Jewish thinking, in the philosophy of the "religion of work", which has had considerable influence on the foundations of the Zionist-Socialist movement in Israel.

The Sabbath. After creating the world, God "rested on the seventh day from all his work which He had made". Therefore, man too must rest every seventh day (the Sabbath) from his labours of the week. The Bible places great emphasis on this commandment. "Remember the Sabbath day to keep it holy" refers not only to the man of the house, his wife and children and his servants, but even to "thine ox, thine ass and all thy cattle".

The Importance of Science and Learning. As the great figures of Jewish history are the teachers, the scholars and sages, so the religion as such places great emphasis on study. It is the responsibility of each individual to devote part of his life to the acquisition of knowledge. The institution of the school is a very ancient one in Judaism, and the "babes of the house of learning" are the objects of special divine grace, for whose sake many a potential act of divine retribution has been withheld from the Jewish People. Illiteracy was practically unknown among the Jews.

The spiritual climate thus created in the Jewish community as a whole produced many Jewish contributions in philosophy, medicine, the natural and social sciences, music and other realms of human culture. Among other outstanding Jewish figures were Maimonides the philosopher and physician, Mendelssohn the composer, Einstein, the father of modern science, and Dr. Salk, the discoverer of the anti-polio vaccine.

Optimism. While "the world to come" is better than "this world", man must depreciate "the life of this world". Judaism calls for an optimistic outlook on life. To take one's life is to sin against God, for it represents an attempt to interfere in God's handiwork. Man must try to do the best he can; he has a great deal to hope for—even in "this world".

Messianism and Universal Peace. For many civilizations the conception of Utopia has been connected with the past. People look back with nostalgia to a Golden Age, a period when the gods lived on earth. Not so in Judaism. It follows natuarally from Judaism's social principles, and its entire philosophical attitude, that the age of the Messiah—the period of the Kingdom of God on earth—lies in the future. The advent of this ideal age will see the end of suffering and injustice, the disappearance of war and evil. Since such afflictions are still rife in the world, the age of the Messiah, according to Judaism, remains an object of aspiration and striving. The Golden Age will bring happiness, peace and justice not only to the Jewish people, but to all humanity. In the words of the prophet Isaiah:

> "And it shall come to pass in the last days . . . and they (the nations) shall beat their swords into ploughshares, and their spears into pruning-hooks: nation shall not lift up sword against nation, neither shall they learn war any more . . ."

Conversion. Except for a brief period in ancient times, Judaism has not sought converts through missionary work. Missionaries of the Jewish faith do not exist. In fact, people who have expressed a desire to be converted to Judaism have been discouraged from doing so, since to become a Jew generally meant to enter into the society of the disfavoured and the persecuted. Nowadays, however, non-Jews who seek to accept Judaism and are prepared to adhere to its principles and practices are, of course, received into the fold, regardless of race or origin.

These precepts of the Bible and of ancient post-Biblical literature are associated with a particular people—the Jews—and a particular land—the Land of Israel. The land achieved its place in history thanks to the people who lived there and the message of Judaism that emanated from it. Israel's hills and valleys are eternally linked with the social truths of the Biblical prophets and with the poetic beauty of the Psalmist of the Old Testament. For the Jews, it is their holy land.

A small nation began to shape and to develop these doctrines and principles some 3,500 years ago. Other peoples of that age were not prepared to accept such concepts; at times they even fought against them and their bearers. Thus the ideas became the banner of the people—Israel's national heritage and its message to humanity.

NATIONAL REVIVAL

THROUGHOUT HISTORY the Jews suffered from persecution, or economic oppression and exploitation, or all these miseries. For example, when the structure of mediaeval society was still primitive and the Jews were required as middlemen, they were tolerated within limits. They were denied access to the soil and to the industrial guilds; they were permitted to engage only in trade and commerce, since this was an important source of income for the kings and princes of the Middle Ages. As soon, however, as a new class of merchants arose, the Jews were expelled from these professions.

They underwent the same experience in country after country, generation after generation. Nor did the advent of modern times bring much improvement. Toleration, when it appeared, was shallow and did not long endure; bigotry and discrimination gained the upper hand. Economic discrimination was followed by social ostracism. Schools became impregnated with anti-Semitic propaganda. In one European country after another, universities introduced the "numerus clausus" (permitting but a small percentage of Jews to attend each faculty) and sometimes even "ghetto benches" for Jewish students. Jews were barred from joining the army, the civil service, the judiciary and the teaching profession.

The psychological effect on the Jews was profound. In the countries where they suffered persecution and discrimination they lived a pariah existence. But even where they enjoyed full civil rights nominally, they felt restless, uneasy and insecure.

At the close of the 18th Century the French Revolution brought far-reaching social and political changes. The Revolution itself, the development of industry and the sciences and especially the innovations in social and economic thinking led to a new attitude towards the Jews. The gates of the ghettos were thrown open. Some of European Jewry achieved full emancipation and equality of rights.

This brief spell of freedom bore universal fruits. Jews left the ghettos, full of enthusiasm and creative power. Wherever they were given the opportunity, they were in the vanguard of human progress. Jews took an active part in the liberation movements of other nations. They contributed to modern social thought; they were among the standard-bearers in the great struggle for civil rights, for equal rights for all races and social classes, for the rights of nations to self-determination, freedom, independence and advancement. They became leaders in medicine, the sciences, literature, music and the arts—in all these fields Jews are found in disproportionate numbers.

It soon became apparent, however, that equality and emancipation were at best limited blessings. A number of Jews—as individuals—were able to become assimilated into the communities in which they lived and to escape full identification with the destiny of the Jewish People. But a marked increase in the number of successful and prominent Jews revived, in many places, anti-Jewish prejudices. The non-Jews acted, in one form or another, to "put the Jews in their place"—and such actions usually affected not only avowed Jews but former Jews as well. To the Jewish People as a whole the new spirit of toleration proved to be nothing but a bitter illusion.

An anti-Semitic racist movement developed in the first half of the 19th Century, first in Germany and then in other countries. This called for a "pure Aryan society" from which all "non-Europeans"—especially Jews and Gypsies—would be eliminated. It was to reach its peak a hundred years later in the German National-Socialist (Nazi) movement. The Nazis exterminated the bulk of European Jewry—six million souls.

The Jewish national movement and general revival began at the beginning of the 19th Century. It started, like many national restorations, in a cultural renascence and quickly developed into a popular national movement encompassing the entire Jewish People—both in the Land of Israel and all over the world. Jewish thinkers analyzed the problems of the nation. They concluded—and their conclusions were amply borne out by the realities of Jewish existence in the Diaspora—that without the restoration of the Jews' independence in their own land, they could never find self-fulfilment and physical existence. In fact, the Jews' very existence as a people was in jeopardy unless their national life could be normalized through the establishment of a free, creative Jewish community rooted in the soil of the homeland.

Normalization meant political independence for the national home, which would serve also as a haven for persecuted Jews returning from exile. It required that the Jews resume the tilling of the soil and physical labour in general. Only under such conditions could they develop their culture and realize their social ideals, their belief in a peaceful society based on justice, progress and true international cooperation for the advancement of all mankind.

Palestine in the middle of the 19th Century was semi-barren and sparsely populated as a result of the ravages of wars through the centuries and the resulting neglect of the land. What had once been "a land flowing with milk and honey" was now a poor and disease-ridden country, a large proportion of its territory covered with malaria-infested swamps. Here and there Jewish farmers maintained a meagre existence on land that had been handed down from father to son for generations. The Jewish urban population also lived in conditions of extreme indigence.

The Jewish revival demanded a return to the desolate land and its revitalization. After some unsuccessful efforts (in 1839 and 1855), a group of Jerusalemites founded in the year 1878 the first modern settlement on uncultivated swampland. They called it "Petah Tikva"—"Gateway to Hope".

They had no idea how to farm, or to clear swamps, or to go about tilling the soil with their own hands to make it productive. These pioneers—and those who followed them at the close of the century—laboured under conditions which were nearly unbearable. But these men and women were conscious of the importance of their task: they believed that they were beginning a great project that would result one day in the liberation of the Jewish People. This conviction gave them the moral strength to overcome all difficulties. Their spirit, their enthusiasm and their accomplishments roused the spirit of their brothers at home and abroad and revived long-dormant hopes in their hearts. The inhabitants of the Land, as well as Jewish refugees from abroad, began to settle on the land and to make wastes and swamplands fruitful.

After the Russian pogroms of 1881, a group of Jewish students in Moscow, who called themselves "Bilu" (the initials, in Hebrew, of the Biblical slogan, "House of Jacob, come ye, and let us go"[1]) immigrated into Palestine in order to work the land. This was the first instance in modern times of Jewish exiles returning to till the soil of the homeland.

The Bilu were a small group of intellectuals. Had they wanted to do so, they could have emigrated from Russia to some other country, richer and with opportunities appropriate to their professions. They were convinced, however, that this was no solution to the Jewish problem. What the Jews needed was to live in their homeland—and to live there a new life, a life with new social and cultural content, possible only on the soil.

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[1] The idea being to go out of the Diaspora and return to the land of their forefathers.

Thus exiled Jews returned to national awareness and to the soil of their homeland, some seventy years before the country was to achieve political liberation and independence. The history of these pioneers, of their sufferings and privations, is one of tenacious heroism. They dedicated themselves with unfailing self-denial to the task of reclaiming long-neglected and seemingly hopeless soil.

For generations Hebrew had been used only as a literary language. The Jewish renaissance involved the revival of the Hebrew language and culture in the Land of Israel as an everyday means of communication between people. This was a transformation of a literary tongue into the spoken language of the people. It was accomplished through the doggedness and perseverance of one man who commanded neither power, nor an organization, nor financial resources, nor the privileges of social standing, nor a sympathetic following, nor any of the other expedients that may be utilized to move men—except his personal example.

Eliezer Ben-Yehuda, a resident of Jerusalem about 70 years ago (later to become a well-known philologist and the author of a comprehensive lexicon of the Hebrew language) began speaking the language, previously used only for worship or literature, with his wife and children. His friends and neighbours, familiar with the Hebrew vocabulary but unaccustomed to its use in everyday speech (Jews everywhere had adopted the language of the peoples among whom they lived), mocked Ben-Yehuda as a dreamer wasting his time on a whimsical fancy.

For several years Ben-Yehuda kept stubbornly to his resolve. It became an obsession with him, and he moved about like a linguistic pariah. But gradually he succeeded in infecting a growing number of people with his "madness". Within a few years the ancient tongue became once again the spoken language of the Jewish people in its homeland. Thus, long before political instruments became available, a solution was found for the problem of establishing a single, unifying language for the nation—a problem with which many states, old and new, are grappling to this day. Since the revival of Hebrew, the language of the Bible has continued to develop until today it serves as the language of Israel's daily speech, its press and literature, its schools and universities, its science and administration.

The restoration of the land, language and culture, and the emergence of a new society on the sacred soil stirred Jewish hearts in the Diaspora as well as in Palestine itself. Jews felt the need to organize. Thus the Zionist[1] Organization came into existence at the end of the 19th Century. The driving force of the movement was not a new ideology—its concepts existed throughout Jewish history. The Organization gave substance to the fundamental ideals of the rebirth and national independence of the nation.

Particular factors and phenomena in Jewish history affected the movement for national revival and liberation. All great drives towards liberation are motivated primarily by aspirations for liberty and progress. Apart from the methods used, there is generally little to differentiate one such movement from another. Jewish destiny, however, is characterized in addition by a series of unique factors that are not found in the history of more fortunate nations.

For the past 1,800 years the Jews have been the victims of imperialism. Imperialism forcibly deprived them of their freedom. To this the obvious answer was—independence.

The Jews were banished, en masse, from their land, driven from place to place, suffering everywhere repression and murder. To this the answer was return to the homeland as the only safe haven for the nation.

Their culture, their beliefs and their way of life were trodden underfoot, despite their important contribution to human civilization. The answer to this challenge: revival of Jewish culture within a new political and social framework.

Most of the Jews were cut off from productive and manual labour and from the tilling of the soil: the solution was return to manual work, return to the soil, austerity, non-exploitation of the toil of others—beliefs that found expression in the philosophy of the "Religion of Work", which exercised a decisive influence on the development of agriculture and the workers' and cooperative movements in Israel.

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[1] "Zion"—the name of a hill in Jerusalem—has served since ancient times as a term denoting the city, the land and the people—each one separately or all of them together—as historical concepts.

Palestine was arid, desolate, thirsting for water. What could the Jews do? They had to conquer the desert, clear the swamps, irrigate arid regions, squeeze water from the hard, cruel stones, plant trees on sand dunes and rocky hills. They had the logic, the basic ideas, the eternal bond with the Land. The hope, the yearning, the striving for "The renewal of our days as of old"—all these, carefully nurtured through the ages and passed down from one generation to the next, gave the people the moral and physical strength to endure what had to be endured until the coming of the hour of redemption. What the national movement did at the turn of the century was merely to provide a constructive organizational and political framework for these yearnings and aspirations.

It was the aim of the Zionist Movement from its inception to obtain international recognition for the rights and aspirations of the Jewish people. The leaders based their demands on the human conscience; they toiled incessantly to explain the Jewish problem to the world and to gain support among nations and among progressive circles everywhere. Few were conversant at the time—or are today, for that matter—with Jewish history and with the particular difficulties involved.

In the course of its fifty years of existence prior to Israel recovering her independence, the Zionist Organization in effect performed constructive social, political and economic functions which, in the ordinary course of events, only a sovereign state can perform. In Palestine, the Organization operated a state in the making. It was, therefore, in this respect, the independent Jewish State on the way. But a real state was essential if the Jewish People was to withstand the relentless campaign by imperialist forces to suppress the struggle for sovereignty and independence.

TOWARDS INDEPENDENCE

In the last quarter of the 19th Century, the Jews resumed their campaign for self-determination. With unlimited devotion and energy, leaders and rank-and-file dedicated themselves to their cause. Political and economic obstacles, at times seemingly insurmountable, faced them at every turn.

The Ottoman Empire, ruling at that time the entire Middle East, including Palestine, deliberately suppressed the various national and religious groups in the area—the Jews, the Arabs, the Armenians, the Kurds, the Druzes, the Maronites, the Moslems and the Christians. The Turks strangled every manifestation of nationalism. Since, at that time, the Jews formed the only group in tee region working seriously and systematically to assert its national identity (the Arab national movement was then still in its embryonic stage), the Turkish rulers looked upon the Jewish national movement as an omen of the stiffening, in general, of popular resistance to Ottoman oppression and took measures accordingly.

Worse, however than the political difficulties facing the Zionist Movement in its first thirty years were the economic problems. A great deal of money was needed, not only for organizational and political activities, but even more to finance the agricultural revival, involving as it did a drastic vocational shift among the Jewish population. This money was obtained from contributions by Jews, young and old, rich and poor, from all walks of life, living all over the world. The people responded to the appeal for funds willingly and enthusiastically, each according to his means. Contributions were collected at holidays and festivals, weddings and community celebrations. Men, women and children put their pennies into little boxes that soon became permanent features of almost every Jewish home in the world. Regular contributions to Palestine—often in the form of legacies—were made by Jews in the Diaspora. The lofty ideal and the honest and efficient administration of the nation's funds constantly increased the popularity of the national effort.

From the outset, care was taken that the revival of Israel should ensure not only the rehabilitation, reconstruction and development of the country but also the building of a more just society. Lands reclaimed and buildings constructed with national funds remained the property of the nation. The lands were distributed equally, the farmer being granted the right to cultivate the soil, to enjoy its fruits and to pass the land on to his sons, in exchange for a nominal payment, but he could not sell it and was liable to lose the land if he failed to cultivate it.

The farmer was also prohibited from employing hired labour, for it was not in order to enable him to exploit others that the land had been given to him by the nation; rather, that he should till the soil of the homeland by the sweat of his own brow.

In effect, then, the people's property was nationalized voluntarily along progressive social lines, without the legal power of nationalization. This was possible because of the acceptance by the people of a set of internal regulations considered illegal by the Ottoman authorities, who not only did nothing to protect them but actually used their power to the utmost to undermine the Jewish revival.

From the social point of view, the project was a resounding success, due to the spirit of comradeship and the idealistic approach prevailing among the young villagers. The will to return to the soil impelled intellectuals and men with academic and professional backgrounds—doctors, chemists, engineers and lawyers—to leave offices and laboratories to trudge behind the plough. In these early pioneering days blisters were a source of pride to the men whose hands they adorned.

At first the conquest of the desert involved great human suffering. The villagers lacked technical facilities for soil reclamation and swamp clearance, as well as sanitary installations. Notwithstanding the generosity of the nation, funds were meagre. The farmers inhabiting the new villages had to live in perpetual hunger until they could begin to support themselves by their own toil, for the support they received from outside the country was inadequate. There existed, besides, only a minimal measure of public safety in the Ottoman Empire; when a village was attacked by a band of robbers, there was no one to defend it except the villagers themselves.

But their worst enemies were malaria and other diseases, most of the new villages being located in the more unhealthy areas of the country, effectively cut off from urban centres by the absence of communications and transport facilities. Quinine, the only anti-malaria medicine known at the time, became the villagers' daily fare. Most of the farmer-contingents in the new villages

पं० इन्द्र विद्या वाचस्पति प्रदत्त ....

included a physician, who was able to give medical treatment, but not every community was so fortunate.

More than once, when the strength of the settlers gave out as a result of disease and privation, a new village had to be abandoned after desperate efforts to consolidate it.

Hadera, for example, lay in the middle of an area of deadly swamps. It was abandoned twice: most of the members of the first two generations that tried to settle there died of malaria. Only after the third generation had succeeded in drying up the swamps were farmers able to keep their foothold in the place and to begin to develop it. Today Hadera is one of the main citrus-growing centres in Israel.

Persecution, involving even public hangings, was the order of the day in the Ottoman Empire. During World War I thousands of volunteers in Palestine as well as in the Diaspora joined "Jewish Battalions" to help in the struggle to liberate the entire region from the Ottoman yoke. At the same time the Emir Faisal was trying to organize a fighting force from among the Beduin of Hejaz.

INTERNATIONAL RECOGNITION

At the end of the war, the aspirations of the Jewish national movement, like those of the Arabs, gained international recognition. In 1922, the League of Nations—at that time the international body representing the nations of the world—placed Palestine under a mandate, to be administrated by Great Britain, thus recognizing the rights of the Jewish people in Palestine. Similar mandates were given by the League of Nations to Britain and France in relation to Iraq, Syria and Lebanon, while Egypt continued to be under British occupation, as it had been since 1882.

During the war, the Mandatory Powers, seeking to win over the Jews and the Arabs alike, had promised to help peoples to achieve their national aspirations. As soon, however, as the war was over and they felt themselves firmly entrenched in the Middle East, they preferred to further their own imperialist interests rather than to carry out the mandates which they had received from the family of nations for the benefit of the peoples of the region.

While international recognition of the Jewish National Home cleared the way for its rapid development, the Mandatory period that followed was one of continual clashes with the Mandatory Power, because of the conflict of aims and interests. But confidence in the justice of their cause, together with the recognition and sympathy of the nations, fortified Jewish hearts despite the difficulties and obstacles.

JEWISH-ARAB COOPERATION

When the Arab national movement was organized at the close of World War I, the Jews immediately established contact. It was the dream of the Jewish leaders to see these two Eastern peoples, the Jews and the Arabs—one small in number, the other numerous, related by ancestry and language, with a history of cooperation in the Middle Ages which had proved a blessing to them and to others and had left permanent cultural values for the world—working for the benefit of the region as a whole.

The Jewish leaders were determined from the very beginning—as appears from the writings and actions of Herzl, Sokolov and Weizmann—that, both politically and economically, the reconstruction of Palestine should be carried out in a manner beneficial and acceptable to the Arabs and that the return of the Jewish People should help and not harm the non-Jewish population of the country.

Already in 1896, the founder of modern Zionism, Dr. Theodore Herzl, in his prophetic book, "The Jewish State", visualized the Land of Israel as a state giving equal opportunities and status to Jew and Arab alike, although it would bear the character of the reconstituted homeland of the Jewish People. He envisaged a society in which the Arabs would play an active political role.

Weizmann did his utmost to reach understanding both with local Arab leaders and with the rising stars of the new Arab national movement, such as Emir Feisal of the Hejaz. Emir Feisal, then the acknowledged leader of the Arabs, later to become the first king of Iraq, gave expression to his desire for cooperation in a letter to the Jewish Delegation to the Paris Peace Conference. This important document demonstrates how far Arab nationalism later veered from its initial enlightened and progressive attitude towards the Jewish national movement:

"We feel that the Arabs and Jews are cousins in race, suffering similar oppression at the hands of powers stronger than themselves, and by happy coincidence have been able to take the first step towards attainment of their national ideals together. We Arabs, especially the educated among us, look with deepest sympathy on the Zionist movement . . . We are working together for a reformed and revived Middle East, and our two movements complete one another. The Jewish movement is national and not imperialistic; our movement is national and not imperialistic. And there is room for us both. Indeed, I think that neither can be a real success without the other . . . I look forward, and my people with me look forward, to a future in which we will help you and you will help us, so that the countries in which we are mutually interested may once again take their place in the community of civilized peoples of the world."

The famous understanding reached in 1919 between the leaders of the Jewish and the Arab national movements, Dr. Weizmann and the Emir Feisal, the spirit of which found expression in the letter quoted above, soon opened up great new possibilities of common development.

Under the terms of the Mandate, persecuted Jewish refugees had the right to return and to find a haven in their homeland; the Jews were also assured the right to work uncultivated or undeveloped state-owned lands as well as malaria-infested regions. These rights had full legal force and were internationally recognized; nonetheless, the authorities did not always implement them in accordance with their duty under the Mandate. Nevertheless, various parts of the country, hitherto unsettled and uncultivated, were made productive by Jewish effort. The Jews also purchased from Arabs their surplus barren lands. For such lands fair prices were paid to the owners, in such a manner as not to lead to the creation of a dispossessed landless proletariat, rather to enable the Arabs to use funds thus acquired for the better development of their farms. This policy was followed during the eighty years that preceded the proclamation of Israel's independence in 1948. Land acquired from Arabs consisted for the most part of malarial swamps, sand dunes and barren, rocky hills. Soil which had been left untilled—in many cases for centuries—was now developed by Jewish labour and initiative.

Jewish economic and social enterprise helped the Arabs in Palestine to become the most advanced in the Arab world. The downtrodden Arab tenantfarmer and day labourer were quick to recognize the progressive character of the social ideas evolved and nurtured by the Jewish pioneers. In the towns, it was the Jewish worker who taught his Arab comrade his first lessons in trade unionism.

The influx of money and scientific knowledge which accompanied the Jewish effort brought a marked rise in the standard of living in the Arab sector of Palestine. Agriculture developed beyond anything known in other parts of the Arab world, the suppressed fellahin being transformed into a sturdy, independent peasantry. Health standards rose sharply, infant mortality dropped to less than half of the mortality rate prevalent among Arabs who had not come into contact with modern methods. The Moslem Arab population of Palestine more than doubled in these thirty years. Politically as well as economically, the reconstruction of the Jewish National Home did much to further the welfare of the Arab inhabitants of Palestine.

BRITISH MANDATORY PERIOD

The early leaders of the new Arab national movement were understanding and sympathetic towards the aspirations of the Jewish people. Unfortunately, however, Haj Amin al-Husseini (the Mufti of Jerusalem) rose to the position of sole leader of the Arabs in Palestine—a position he maintained throughout the period of the British Mandate. A ruthless tyrant who ruled his people through terror and murder, he was largely to blame for the blood-stained relations between the Arab and Jewish communities in Palestine. His extremist policy and the strife-mongering practised by foreign elements in the region, who knew only too well how to exploit his fanaticism and recklessness, led to antagonism between the aspirations of the Arab world and those of the Jewish People. Throughout the 30 years of the British Mandate, the Jews continued to believe that they and the Arabs were sufficiently mature to arrange matters between them directly, through earnest cooperation for the benefit of both and a common stand against foreign intervention. But Al-Husseini and his friends thought otherwise. Outbreaks of Arab violence against the Jews—particularly in the years 1929 and 1936-39—inspired by Al-Husseini and carried out by bands organized by him, cost the Jews thousands of casualties, hundreds of them fatal, and much destruction of property. The attacks interfered with the economic, social and cultural life of the Jewish community. To all Jewish proposals for a solution—similar proposals were put forward by international bodies—the Arab leadership in Palestine had one answer: "No!" Every proposal that now came from the Arabs' side completely ignored the Jews' rights to independence, freedom and self-determination.

World War II created a vast Jewish refugee problem. At the close of hostilities, there were hundreds of thousands of destitute Jews in the Displaced Persons camps in Europe—the disease-ridden, starved and heart-broken survivors of Hitler's policy of mass-extermination. Yet the British Mandatory Administration, pursuing strategic and political aims of its own—in defiance of the Mandate—refused to allow these survivors of the Nazi terror to set foot on the soil of their national homeland. In spite of its explicit obligations to the League of Nations, the Mandatory Administration did all in its power to prevent Jews from finding refuge in their own home!

Jewish political leaders and the commanders of the resistance movement that arose in protest against this hostile policy were interned or sentenced to long prison terms. Curfew and barbed wire ruled the land. To the very end, the British occupying power tried its utmost to prevent the evolution of home rule. But the urge of the Jewish people to achieve independence was overwhelming. Shocked by the frightful tragedy that had struck European Jewry, the vast majority of the United Nations recognized the necessity of assuring the Jewish people a final escape from dependence and discrimination, a place free from the hangman's shadow.

While, in striving for liberation, the Jews always assumed that the achievement of this aim would serve Jew and Arab alike, the extremist leadership of the Arabs refused to recognize the Jews' sovereign rights. They preferred the yoke of a foreign power to freedom for themselves and the Jews together.

There is ample evidence suggesting that the policy of alienating the Jewish from the Arab section of the populace, and of setting one against the other, was dictated by the colonial interests of the Mandatory Power. This was undoubtedly one of the main factors leading to the tragedy of disrupted Israel-Arab relations. The Arab ruling circles, seeking ways of diverting their peoples' attention from their poverty and oppression, and of blocking their advance towards democracy and real independence, artificially whipped up chauvinistic hatred.

On 29 November 1947, after an exhaustive investigation on the spot, the General Assembly of the United Nations adopted a resolution calling for the partition of Palestine into an Arab and a Jewish State. Most of the nations of the world, including the U.S. and the U.S.S.R., voted in favour of this resolution. The Jews, though critical of several features of the scheme, accepted it. The Arabs—though some of their leaders saw it as a chance for cooperation and advancement for the entire Middle East, a solution of many of its problems—rejected the plan and declared that they would defy it by force: a threat that was quickly translated into action.

Already on 1 December, the Arab leaders began to organize country-wide disturbances, followed by sporadic guerilla activities—hit-and-run raids on Jewish villages, towns and transport. The attacks increased in scope and intensity. Within a few weeks, the whole country was engulfed in riot and pillage.

Thus the Arabs' war on Israel began even before the country's liberation. During the first six months the war had the character of a bitter and bloody civil conflict. The Arab inhabitants of Palestine, incited by their leaders, attacked their Jewish neighbours wherever they could—at home, in the field, on the road. They were aided and abetted, by way of planning, manpower, arms and money, by the surrounding Arab states. Already in the first six months of the war, from the beginning of December 1947 to 14 May 1948, this foreign intervention was of telling proportions.

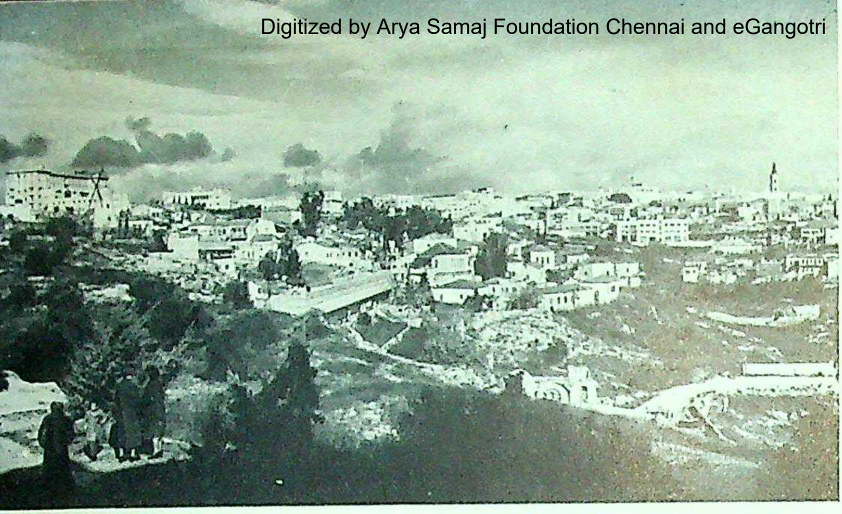
In February 1948, an army of Arab irregulars from the neighbouring states, well-trained and fully armed, invaded Palestine from the north. This force gave fresh impetus to the Arab campaign, and the attacks on Jewish targets increased in number and strength. Fortunately, the Jewish volunteer defence force, the Haganah, succeeded in repulsing the attacks.

INDEPENDENCE

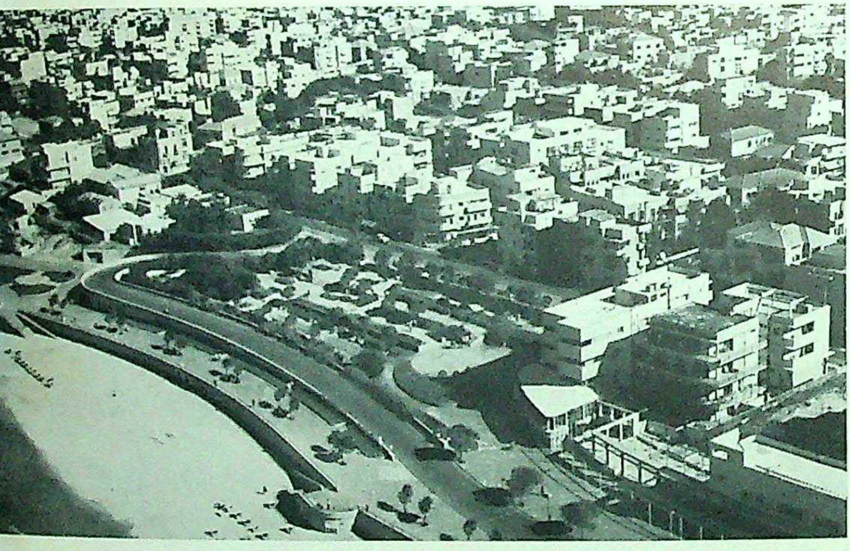
On 14 May 1948, the State of Israel was proclaimed. The British Mandate ended. The British forces withdrew to Haifa, their port of embarkation.

President Itzhak Ben-Zvi addressing the Knesset (Israel's Parliament) at swearing - in ceremony.

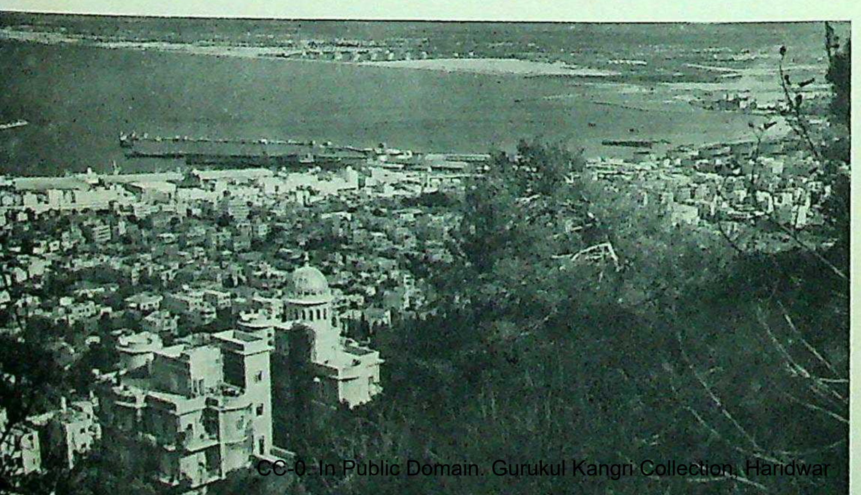
U Nu, Prime Minister of Burma, and Mrs. Nu plant sapling near grave of Israel's first President, Dr. Haim Weizmann



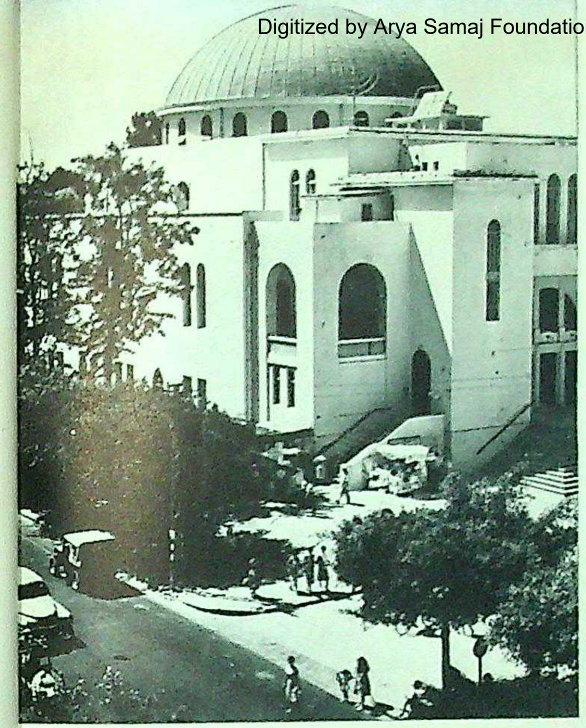
Historic Jerusalem — Israel's old-new capital in the Hills of Judea



Modern Tel Aviv — teeming metropolis on Mediterranean shore



Scenic Haifa, on slopes of Mount Carmel — Israel's busiest port

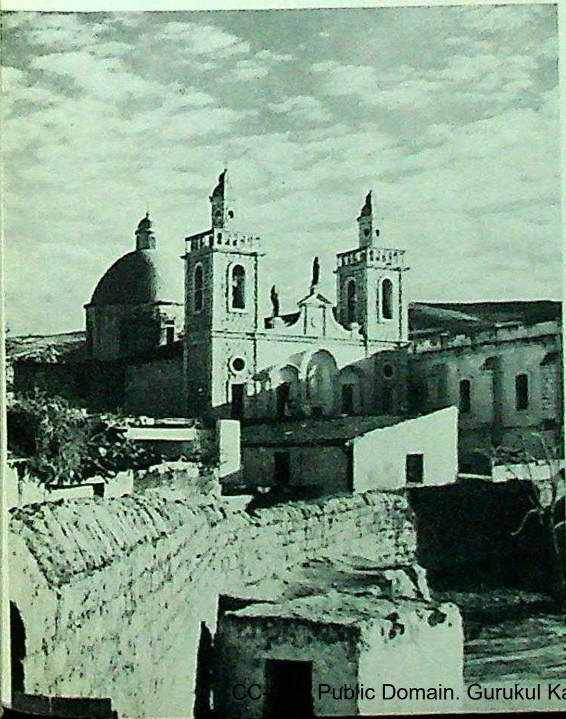


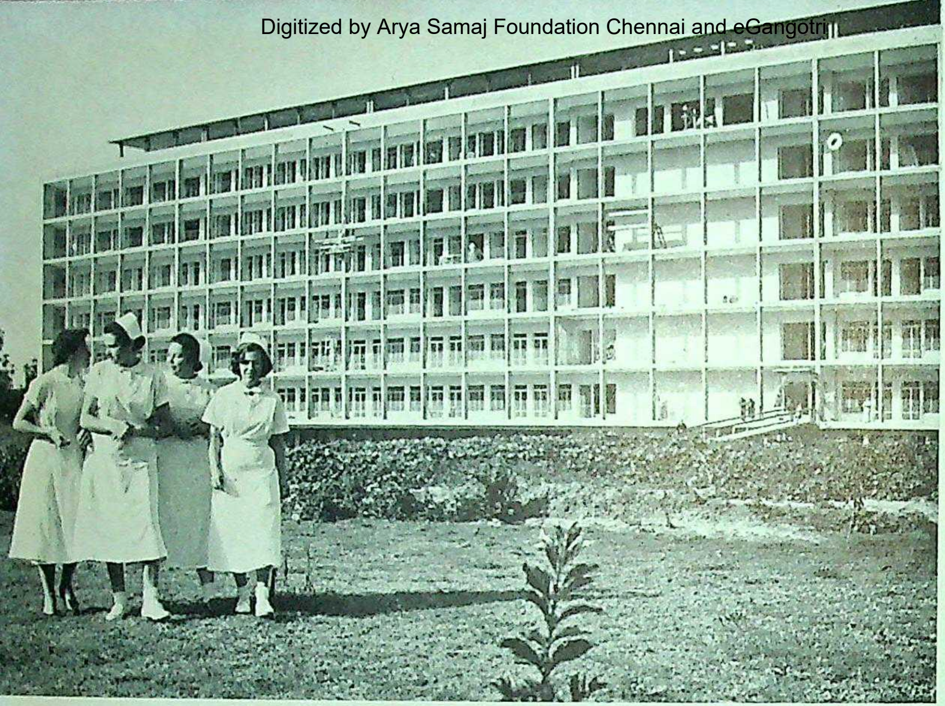
The Great Synagogue, Tel Aviv

Al Jazzar Mosque, Acre

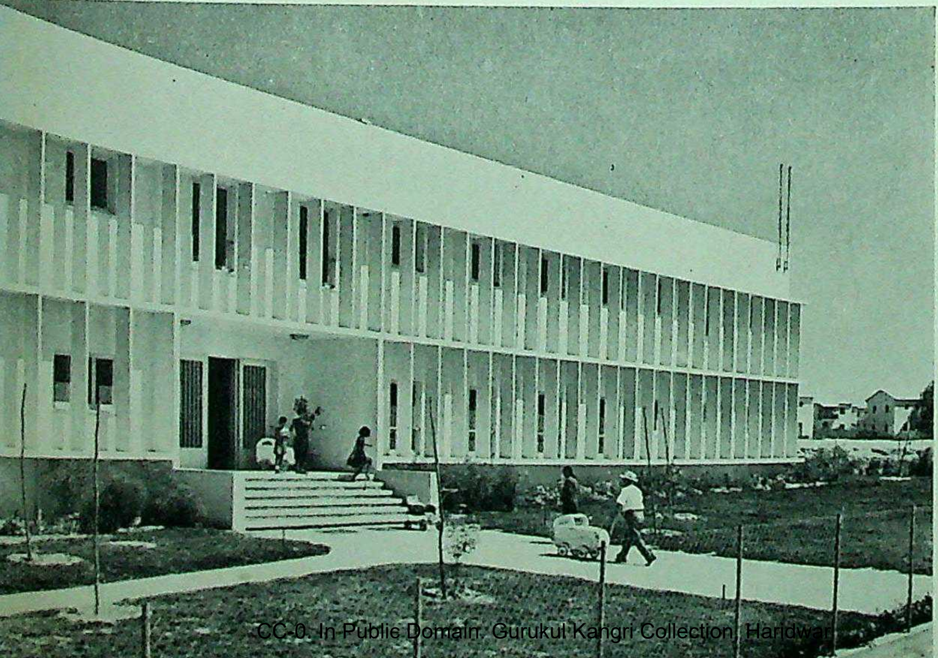
Catholic Franciscan Church, Canna

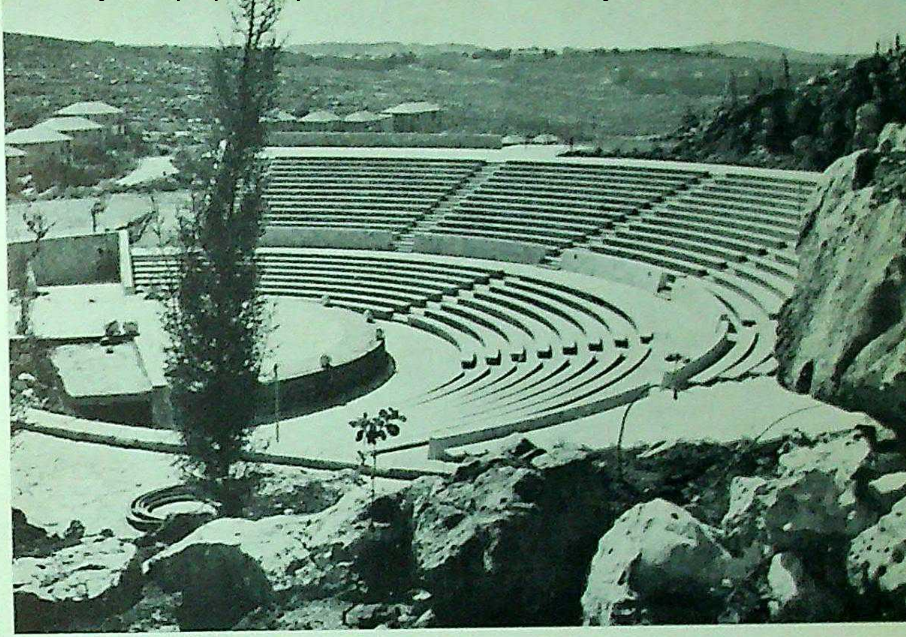
Bahai Temple, Haifa





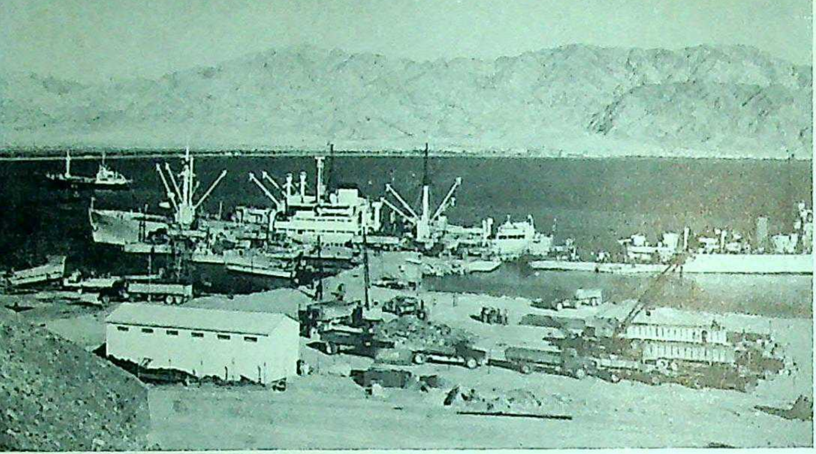
The Beilinson Hospital near Tel Aviv (above), and the Health Clinic at Beersheba — both of the Workers' Sick Fund (Kupat Holim)



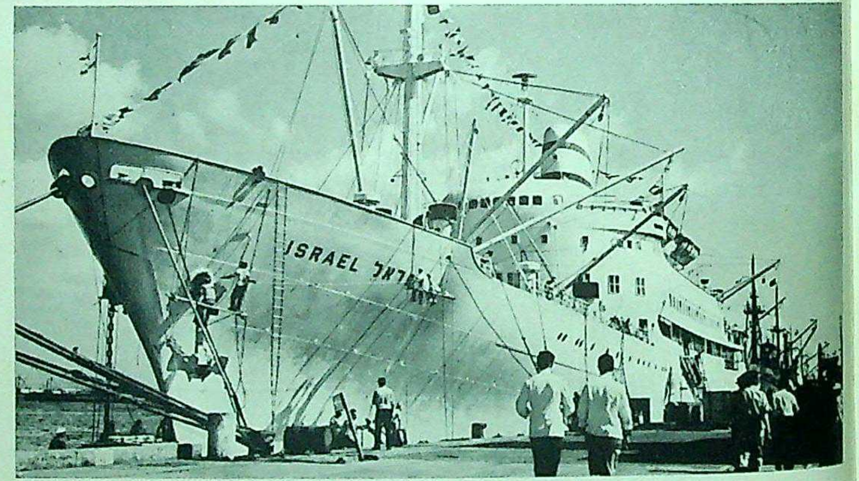


New amphitheatre of the Hebrew University, Jerusalem

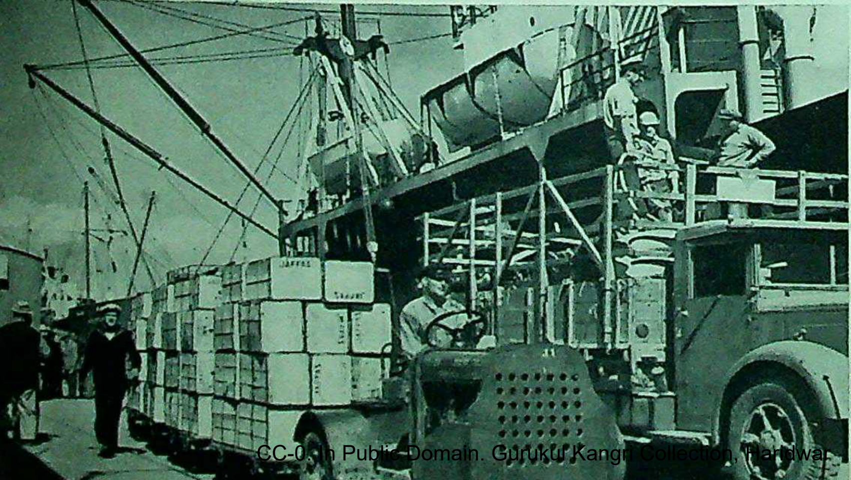
Students working in chemistry laboratory at the Hebrew University



Harbour scene at Eilat, Israel's Red Sea port, gateway to East Africa and the Far East



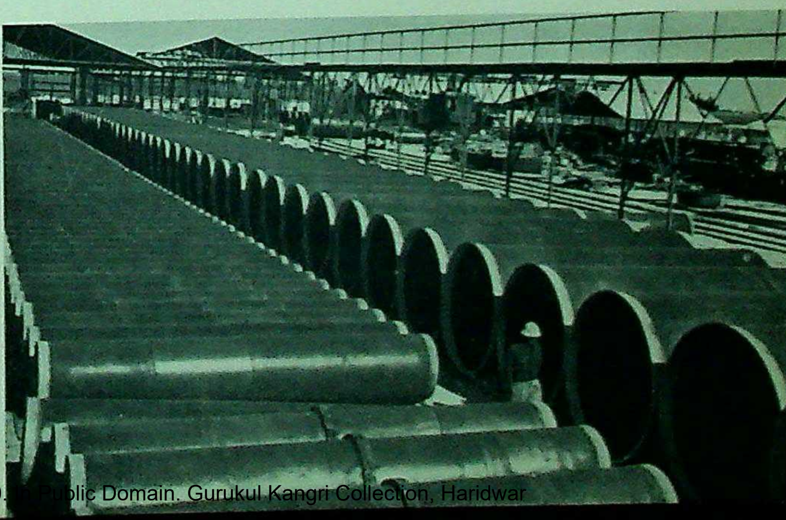
The s/s "Israel" at Haifa port after her maiden voyage



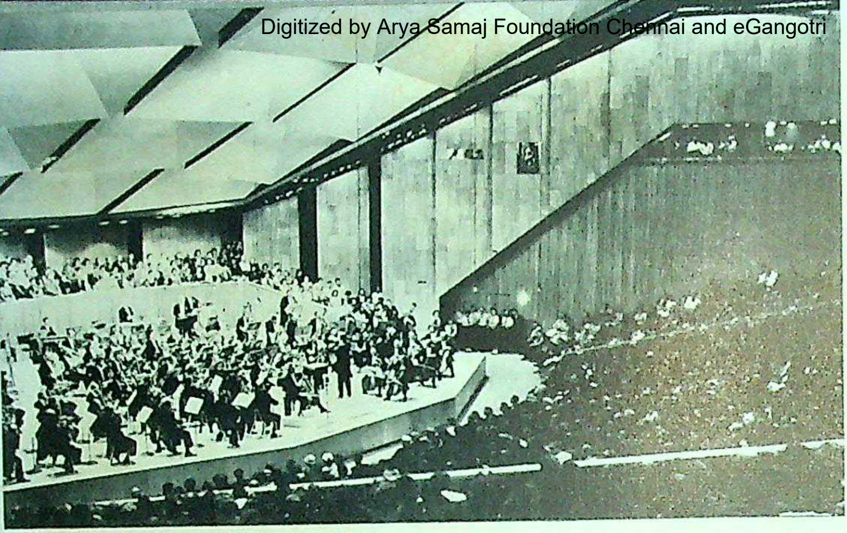
Jaffa oranges being loaded for export to colder climes

New settlement in the arid Negev — Israel's rapidly developing South

Kiryat Anavim — a collective farm in the Jerusalem area



Factory in Ashkelon supplying water pipes to Israel's farms and development schemes



The Israel Philharmonic Orchestra giving a concert at the Mann Auditorium in Tel Aviv

Habimah Theatre in Tel Aviv

Musical practice session on the lawn of a communal settlement

On the following day, regular troops from Egypt, Jordan, Syria, Lebanon and Iraq, supported by contingents from Saudi Arabia and Yemen, marched into the country from north, east and south. States with populations comprising 40,000,000 made war on 650,000! The Arab troops were better equipped, more experienced and more numerous than the Israel defence force, which at that time was but in the first stages of organization.

On 11 June 1948, the United Nations negotiated a month's truce. When it expired, the Arab states refused to renew it and resumed their attacks. After ten days of bitter fighting, in which the Arab armies suffered severe setbacks, a new truce was arranged. But in the autumn and winter more fighting broke out in consequence of Arab breaches of the truce.[1]

The invading armies of the Arab states seized areas of Palestine that, according to the partition plan, were destined for the proposed independent Arab state. The rulers annexed these areas and divided them among themselves according to an agreed plan in accordance with their respective interests. Iraqi and Jordanian battalions occupied that part of Palestine which afterwards was officially annexed to the Kingdom of Jordan; the Egyptians seized what later became known as the Gaza Strip. From Gaza they began what they boasted would would be their "triumphal march on Tel Aviv". They did advance to within 15 miles of the city's outskirts. However, the foreign invaders were beaten back by the Israel defence forces, fighting with their backs to the wall.

Despite their military defeat, the Arab states profited from the annexation of areas seized under the pretext of coming to the aid of Palestine's Arabs. Thus they forcibly prevented the establishment of an independent Arab State.

The real losers in this campaign were the ordinary Arab men and women deceived by their leaders into abandoning the country so as not to live in the Jewish State or even to admit its existence by remaining within its borders. They constitute the body of people known as the Arab refugees (dealt with in another chapter), scattered throughout the Arab countries and still shamelessly exploited by their "host" governments—both against each other and in order to harass Israel. Those Arabs who wanted to remain did so, like the rest of Israel's citizens. There are more than 200,000 of them living in Israel today, enjoying the benefits and advantages of a progressive, democratic state.

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[1] For a concise account of the fighting, see "Israel's Border and Security Problems", by Maj. Gen. Moshe Dayan ("Foreign Affairs", January 1955).

The Arab war on Israel was conducted from the beginning with extreme brutality. Its avowed purpose was to wipe out the Jewish population. At a press conference on 15 May 1948, the day of the general invasion, Azzam Pasha, then Secretary-General of the Arab League, declared: "This will be a war of extermination and a momentous massacre that will be spoken of like the Mongolian massacre and the Crusades."[1]

Jewish forces that were outnumbered and defeated in battle were wiped out to the last man. The wounded were left to die on the battlefield; the dead were mutilated, and photographs of the bodies were sold in the streets of Jerusalem.[2] The villages of the Kfar Etzion bloc, to the south of Jerusalem, of Atarot and Neve Yaakov, to the north, and the settlement of Beit Ha'arava, in the desert north of the Dead Sea, were razed to the ground. The Arabs blew up the Jewish quarter in the Old City of Jerusalem, with its time-honoured synagogues; they desecrated the ancient cemetery on the Mount of Olives.

One of their commanders frankly admitted to a foreign journalist that the Arabs showed no consideration for the rules of war: "The Jews cannot be regarded as a nation like the Americans or the Chinese; they are highway robbers to whom international rules of law do not apply."[3] The United Nations resolution had envisaged that after partition there would be Arabs in the Jewish State and Jews in the Arab State. There are at present 207,000 Arabs living in the State of Israel. Not a single Jew remains in any part of Palestine that was seized by the invaders.

In the spring and summer of 1949, a series of Armistice Agreements were concluded between Israel, on the one hand, and Egypt, Jordan, Lebanon and Syria, on the other, thus ending the state of war. These agreements were formulated "with a view to promoting the return of permanent peace...

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[1] BBC news broadcast. Similar utterances abounded in the Arab press as well as in broadcasts from Arab countries.

[2] J. R. Carlson: "From Cairo to Damascus" (Alfred A. Knopf, New York 1951) p. 172.

[3] "As-Sarih", Jordan weekly, 16 February 1948

No aggressive action by the armed forces—land, sea or air—of either Party shall be undertaken, planned or threatened against the people or the armed forces of the other . . . The right of each Party to its security and freedom from fear of attack by the armed forces of the other shall be fully respected."[1]

The Armistice Agreements, treaties of non-aggression clearly obligating the parties to maintain peaceful relations, were signed with the understanding, on both sides, that they would be followed by peace talks directed at a settlement of outstanding problems. The Arab Governments, however, not only refused outright to enter later into peace negotiations, but they violated the peace and maintained a state of constant tension between their countries and Israel.

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[1] From the Israel-Egyptian Armistice Agreement

A DEMOCRATIC STATE

ALTHOUGH THE NEW PHASE of Israel's life is but ten years old, the people are sufficiently mature for the exercise of responsible and democratic government. While many of the country's citizens are immigrants and few have had parliamentary experience abroad, they had become familiar, prior to immigrating, with the workings of representative institutions in many ways.

Jewish communities developed democratic traditions in most of the countries of their sojourn, although they had no powers of taxation. The money needed for the maintenance of Jewish institutions such as schools, old-age homes, cemeteries, orphanages and even hospitals had to be raised usually by voluntary contributions, backed, when needed, by social pressure. Elected town and village committees, collecting local rates without legal backing, existed in Palestine many generations before the State of Israel was re-established.

During the British Mandate Jews in Palestine elected a National Council of the Jews to supply general social services to Jewish towns and villages. A country-wide network of schools and social welfare and health institutions was established and maintained, not by the British Mandatory Government but by this central Jewish authority. The National Council was elected every five years and was governed by an Executive Committee. The present President of Israel, Mr. Yitzhak Ben Zvi, was Chairman of this Committee when it came to an end on the declaration of Independence in 1948.

The National Movement, known as the Zionist Organization, founded fifty years before the restoration of freedom to Israel, always had a democratic structure. The Organization was, and still is, governmed by an elected Congress meeting at regular intervals. The Zionist Organization raised considerable sums of money from voluntary contributions for immigration and agricultural development in the country. Dr. Chaim Weizmann, first President of Israel, was President of the Organization for most of the thirty years prior to the establishment of the State. Mr. David Ben Gurion, now the Prime Minister of Israel, was previously Chairman of the Zionist Executive in Jerusalem. Mr. Moshe Sharett, Foreign Minister from 1948 to 1956, also Premier for some years, was previously head of the Zionist Political Department in Jerusalem. Hence, most of the founders of the new State had had considerable experience of democratic organization when Israel came into existence.

THE POLITICAL PARTIES

Most political parties in Israel were shaped a generation or two before the State.

All of Israel's leaders are members of political parties and obey party discipline. The parties—and not the Prime Minister—decide who are to be their representatives in the coalition cabinets.

The largest party in the Knesset (the Israel Parliament) is the Labour Party, Mapai, holding 40 out of 120 seats. It is a democratic-socialist party affiliated both to the Second International and to the Asian Socialist Conference. Even before independence, this party bore the main responsibility for the destiny of the National Home. It has been at the head of all Israel's coalition governments.

The party is a staunch advocate of workers' social and political rights and of public control (though not necessarily state control) of nationally important sections of the ecenomy. It is a driving force behind the move for economic and social pioneering in the country's underdeveloped and arid areas undertaken by the Israel trade union federation (Histadrut).

Two other socialist parties, Ahdut Avoda (10 seats in the Knesset) and Mapam (9) stand to the left of Mapai in matters of economic policy and socialist dogma. These parties also advocate strict neutrality between the power blocs.

The two religious parties do not fit into the pattern of Right or Left, as they include wings which incorporate both socialist and capitalist features in their programme. Together, they have 17 seats in Parliament. Of the two groups, the more orthodox is Agudat Israel, somewhat more to the Right than the National Religious Party. The Centre is occupied by the Progressive Party (5), which in outlook comes close to European Liberalism. Three Arab parties together hold 5 seats.

All these groups have a long tradition of political cooperation amongst themselves and form the present Government coalition.

More to the Right are the General Zionists (13), who are opposed to socialism and champion free enterprise. At the extreme Right is the ultra-nationalist Herut (15), which advocates the restoration of Israel in its historic boundaries;

it is anti-socialist in its internal policy. On the extreme left, there is the Communist Party with 6 seats.

In the Knesset the Arab members speak in Arabic, a verbatim Hebrew translation being read out immediately afterwards by an official interpreter. All Hebrew speeches delivered are simultaneously translated into Arabic and are picked up by the Arab members through earphones.

THE KNESSET

The Knesset consists of one chamber, i.e., popular will is not limited by the revisory or delaying powers of any Upper House.

The Knesset consists of 120 members elected for a term of four years. Elections are secret and direct. Every man and woman above the age of 18, of whatever race or religion, is entitled to vote. Every such person above the age of 21 (except judges) is eligible for election.

Great interest is taken in the elections, and the percentage of voters going to the polls in 1948, 1951 and 1955 was 87, 79 and 83 respectively.

The electoral system is based on proportional representation of the parties in the country as a whole and not on the election of members to represent individual constituencies. Each political party presents a list not exceeding 120 candidates, placed in the order of precedence decided by the party executive. The total number of votes cast in the election divided by 120 gives the number of votes—called the quota—needed to qualify one member. In the 1955 elections, the quota was about 7,000 votes. If, for example, a party receives a number of votes throughout Israel equal to six times the quota, the first six persons on that party's list are elected. There are provisions for agreements between parties for the handing over by one party to another of unused parts of quotas. If a candidate elected withdraws at any time after the election, the next candidate on the list who was not elected is declared to be elected.

This system of proportional representation tends to encourage a multi-party rather than a two-party system, and coalitions rather than one-party governments. On the other hand, it prevents violent swings of the political pendulum at elections. Proposals by Mapai to replace proportional representation by constituency elections, as practised in England, India, Burma and Japan, for example, have been rejected by the smaller parties.

As a result of the proportional representation system and the consequent multiplicity of political parties represented in the Knesset, Government coalitions have, as a rule, a slender majority in the House.

LAW AND PUBLIC OPINION

The right of individual members of the Knesset to require Ministers to answer parliamentary questions (and supplementary questions) is well-established; so is their right to raise general matters of importance as motions on the agenda.

There are two Standing Committees with 23 members each: the House Committee and the Constitution, Legislative and Law Committee. There are seven Standing Committees with 15 members each: The Finance Committee; the Foreign Affairs and Defence Committee; the Labour Committee; the Economic Committee; the Education and Culture Committee; the Home Affairs Committee; and the Public Service Committee. The Standing Committees of the Knesset not only consider bills during the committee stage; they also watch over the operations of the Ministries themselves. They receive oral reports in camera from the relevant Ministers on the major issues of the day.

The State Comptroller (who is the Auditor-General) is appointed by the Knesset and is responsible to the Knesset and not to the Cabinet. His annual report on the shortcomings of the Executive is debated in the Knesset, and his recommendations for improvement receive public support.

There are three grades of Law Courts in Israel—the Magistrates' Court, the District Court and the Supreme Court. The Magistrates are all qualified advocates, and the greatest care is taken to ensure that judicial appointments are free from any suspicion of political or other bias. The Nominations Committee consists of the Minister of Justice as Chairman and one other Cabinet Minister elected by the Cabinet; the Chief Justice and two other Supreme Court

Judges elected by the Supreme Court; two members of the Knesset elected by the Knesset; and two members of the Bar Association elected by the Association.

The Law Courts of Israel have shown a high degree of judicial wisdom and political independence. A citizen who wishes to sue the Government is not required to obtain the prior permission of the Attorney-General. The Courts have persistently championed the rights of the citizen, Jew and Arab alike, against any possible wrong by the authorities.

The Supreme Court sits as a High Court of Justice and as a Court of Appeal in matters of principle concerning the interpretation of the law. Cases brought against Government departments and civil servants by citizens who feel that they have been deprived of their legal rights are dealt with by the Supreme Court.

The death penalty has been abolished, except for traitors in wartime and for persons discovered in Israel who participated in Nazi crimes against Jews abroad. There is no jury system in Israel, judicial pleas being heard by one or three judges, according to the severity of the offence.

Nobody in Israel can be arrested without a Magistrate's Warrant. A warrant is also needed for house searches. All persons detained must be brought before a Magistrate within 48 hours and cannot be detained pending trial without a warrant by a Magistrate for a maximum of fifteen days at a time. Claims for habeas corpus can be brought before the Supreme Court. Free legal aid is given to accused persons who cannot afford a lawyer. All cases are heard in open court, except where secret military matters or abnormal sexual crimes are involved.

Human rights and the rights of the citizens are protected to the utmost. There are, moreover, adequate safeguards, in the Knesset and outside, against the exercise of arbitrary power by the Executive.

The Press in Israel plays an important part in public life. Nineteen morning and two afternoon newspapers appear daily in Israel. Twelve of the morning papers and the two afternoon papers appear in Hebrew, the others in Arabic, English, French, German and Hungarian. There are some 320 other periodicals, including 70 weeklies and 125 fortnightlies and monthlies. There is no political censorship of any kind, only items concerning purely military secrets being subject to censorship, since Israel's neighbours still maintain that they are at war with her.

INTEGRATION OF IMMIGRANTS

SINCE THE RECOVERY OF INDEPENDENCE in 1948, the population of Israel has almost trebled. Israel's population is now near the 2,000,000 mark, of whom some 1,800,000 are Jews, while the others are for the most part Arabs and Druzes. Most of the Jews came from Asian and African countries, while others came from Europe, many of them survivors of the Nazi racial massacres perpetrated during World War II.

These figures highlight the fact that Israel not only has to absorb newcomers into an existing community, but also has to effect a successful merger between widely differing cultural and social groups, destined to live and to build a commonwealth together. Such a process of mutual adjustment would have been difficult even if the veteran population had not just gone through a long and bitter struggle for independence.

Many of Israel's citizens reached the country after severe psychological shocks and were frequently groping and insecure. The influx of large numbers of immigrants automatically led to the need for changed administrative and productive methods. It required a major effort for the newcomers to make the necessary adjustments, including material and other sacrifices, so that a unified, but not uniform, population would emerge. The nation's cultural heritage was enriched by the contribution of the Asian and African Jews to the development of Israel's new way of life.

The state required technical, industrial and scientific development. The introduction of modernization raised cultural problems familiar to other Asian states. Insofar. however. as it is instrumental in raising the standard of living, modernization is accepted as inevitable; any other attitude would result in the loss of the struggle for economic survival.

Real difficulties are encountered, however, where culture and social habits are involved and where modernization may have disruptive effects. Innovations made in order to ease physical labour, to increase soil fertility or to lower infant mortality can have unexpected and even negative effects. The principles of the modern welfare state may be incompatible with family tradition and ancient customs and are therefore sometimes resented. This resistance to modernization among some immigrants, mainly elderly—especially those with a background of a patriarchal way of life—is the more understandable when it is considered that such changes tend to disrupt the family hierarchy, even though this may be unintentional. Childbearing, if adjusted to modern conceptions, is likely to break up the old pattern of family life; the position of the woman, which is bound to be modified in the new framework, may profoundly influence social consciousness; simple hygienic rules may clash with traditional attitudes towards illness and may be met with hostility.

Infinite tact and patience are required on the part of young men and women working as instructors among the new immigrants. They must take into account the pride and sensitivity of the newcomer. They must be able to appreciate the positive aspects of precisely those traditional habits which appear to form an obstacle to modern progress.

Mutual understanding and respect for different civilizations are generally attributes of highly educated persons only; where knowledge is lacking, barriers are likely to arise between the communities. The common roots of all sections of the population in the historical past and in the Asian heritage of the Jewish nation are creating a new pattern of life, modern but based on ancient and venerable values.

Much progress has recently been made in this respect. Precipitous changes running counter to the social and spiritual values of the various Jewish communities are being increasingly avoided. Cooperation is preferred to coercion, and any semblance of imposing innovations is shunned.

A purely intellectual approach to these problems is often harmful, since it takes little cognizance of the beauty of tradition which may not promote production methods but does provide an emotional outlet for the newcomer—a haven, a means of self-expression which ultimately helps him to adjust. Moreover, ancient craftsmanship is by no means sperfluous in the modern world, which appreciates more and more the originality and artistic value of home industries. These little industries have proved economically productive too, since their products are suitable for export, apart from finding a ready market in the country. They are now being given official encouragement.

The process of orchestration and harmonization now at work among the various elements of the population safeguards the happiness of each of them and reinforces the unity of the nation.

In the welding of ancient traditions to inevitable economic and social changes, Israel has achieved major results. Its constructive experience in this field may be of universal importance for other nations facing similar problems, in helping them save valuable years of experimentation, so detrimental in the first years of a newly independent state. Israel views with much satisfaction the fact that Asian and African sister-nations have been able to benefit to some degree from her social and economic attainments. Undoubtedly, many more countries could benefit from this experience.

पं० इन्द्र विद्या वाचस्पति प्रदत्त संग्रह

AGRICULTURE

FROM THE INCEPTION of the Zionist movement, its leaders have tried to base it on a healthy agricultural foundation. They concentrated so much on this aspect of the national revival that for many of the people the desire to engage in agriculture became an almost religious urge.

Physical, social, political and economic conditions were extremely difficult. Consequently, the dominant trend was towards collective and cooperative agricultural settlement, founded on the principles of self-labour and absence of exploitation. This development has had a lasting influence upon the social structure of Israel agriculture. In 1948 a process of intensification started and still continues. This change is due to the rapid increase in the population, necessitating increased food production and, to a lesser degree, more agricultural exports.

In the last ten years, Israel has succeeded in expanding production in mixed farming. The country is now self-supporting in fruit, vegetables, milk and eggs. It exports many fruits, mainly oranges, and some vegetables. The cultivation in the south of large stretches of barren land made possible the sowing of grain, though grain is still Israel's largest agricultural import item and is likely to remain so.

Increased emphasis has been placed lately upon the production of crops serving as raw materials for Israel's industries. Cotton, groundnuts, sugar beet and flax have been cultivated, while cultivation of plants for industry and fruit for export, such as citrus, bananas and grapes, has been expanded. Consignments of melons, eggs and winter vegetables have found ready markets in Europe. They have been grown on the new collective and cooperative farms which have tended to specialize.

The main problems of the State were the improvement of eroded and arid land and the settlement on the soil of persons who frequently had no farming experience, no training and no working capital. Till 1948 there were 138 collective and 34 cooperative villages; by July of 1955, there were 236 cooperative and 279 collective villages. A survey of manpower conducted in June 1954 indicated that a total of 72,600 Jews were gainfully occupied in agriculture in all its forms.

The expansion of agriculture was due also to a planned manpower programme. The Government directed immigrants into development areas by making very cheap government housing and land freely available in these regions. They were free to settle where they pleased, but in overcrowded urban areas the authorities provided no cheap immigrant housing; private housing is obtainable on the open market.

A movement called "From Town to Country" was launched under the auspices of the Histadrut, the Israel Federation of Labour. Over 4,000 families went into agriculture under this scheme. The disinflationary economic policy initiated by the Government in February 1952 strengthened this tendency by slightly dimishing employment opportunities in luxury trades and other non-essential occupations.

With the elimination of the immigrants' transit camps in 1954, and the introduction of the "From Ship to Village" project, newcomers to Israel were taken immediately to their new places of residence. After 1954, immigrants came mainly from North Africa, where many of the Jews were accustomed to agricultural occupations. In the new villages these newcomers were provided with houses equipped with all the essential services. Tools, livestock, water pipes and seeds were made available by means of long-term loans. Public works, including afforestation, reclamation and soil conservation, assisted the immigrants through the initial years until their farms could provide them with a livelihood.

There has been a major increase in the cultivation of irrigated and forage crops, vegetables, melons, grains and legumes. The increase in livestock has been relatively smaller. The total area under cultivation has been increased to some extent but does not exceed 900,000 acres. An important expansion has taken place, however, in areas under irrigation, which trebled in the last few years (a rise from 135,000 to 463,000 acres). This transformation required an increase of manpower in agriculture by almost 100 per cent.

There are three main types of agricultural cooperative villages in Israel, all of them having the same underlying ideals of cooperative organization, but each making its own specific social and economic contribution to the national life. These three types are:—

1. *The Kibbutz*. This is a fully collectivized, voluntary association where labour output and reward are based on the principles "From each accor-

ding to his ability, to each according to his needs." There is absolute equality, irrespective of the economic or social function performed by each member in the collective. It is a productive society which has abandoned entirely the principle of private property. Everyone, without prejudice or discrimination, may become a member of the kibbutz, after a trial period of one year. He is not required to invest money or property when accepted by the kibbutz; neither is he entitled to a share of the community's property if he should leave.

The upbringing of children is the collective responsibility of the group and is entrusted to members elected and trained for the task. This frees women from domestic duties and enables them to work side by side with the men.

A Secretariat, consisting of the heads of individual committees elected each year by the general assembly of members and responsible to it, co-ordinates all the work of the kibbutz. It plans, supervises and executes the economic and financial policy, resolves the personal problems and disputes of members, and rules, subject to approval by the general assembly, on all matters of principle which require decision or definition.

2. *The Moshav.* This is a cooperative smallholders' village where all produce is marketed and all supplies are purchased cooperatively. Production is cooperative only to a certain extent.

This form of village is based on the individual family unit, each family farming its own allotment independently. Income is determined by the quantity and quality of produce remitted to the marketing centre of the village. Cooperation is usually limited to the common ownership of heavy equipment, purchases taking place in the settlement's cooperative store. The allocation of a limited area of land, equal in potential crop value, to each family, secures uniformity in living standards. The ideal size of this form of village was found to be about 100 families.

Some 20% of those living in the moshav usually are non-members, working in the public services, such as teachers, doctors and clerical workers. The average family holding is 7.5 acres. Mixed farming is the rule. Some 70% of the land farmed by these villages is devoted to grain, the rest to fodder, vegetables and fruit; the villages farm cattle and sheep on a fairly large scale. The degree of mechanization is high.

3. *The Moshav Shitufi.* This is an agricultural cooperative which blends features of the collective and cooperative settlements. Whilst its economy is

collective, like that of the kibbutz—labour, land and profit being pooled—it has the same family system as the moshav. Each family makes its own purchases; "From each according to his means, to each according to his needs" is translated into "currency" for individual purchase on an equalitarian basis. The movement is still in its initial stages.

In addition to these new types of villages, in the running of which Israel has had a particularly wide range of experience, there are a number of Jewish and Arab villages of the customary type, based on private property and private initiative.

The comparative study of the various kinds of rural settlement in Israel has been of major interest to sociologists and economists from abroad as well as from Israel. Their research has universal significance insofar as it helps in the finding of social methods and frameworks by means of which the individual's and the community's happiness may be enhanced.

SOCIAL SERVICES

TWO OPPOSING TRENDS affect social and economic policy in Israel. On the one hand, society accepts responsibility for the welfare of its individual members. On the other hand, an independent nation must balance its exports and imports. Thus economics limit welfare.

The Government's policy is based on a synthesis. If a man is gainfully employed, he will make a better contribution to national production than if he is out of work. A skilled craftsman is a greater asset than a person without knowledge. If every citizen is well nourished, well housed, well educated and fully employed, then it will be all the easier to achieve a balanced economy.

The State therefore invests very large sums in social welfare, perhaps more than an orthodox economist might approve. This policy is already proving successful. The incidence of infant mortality and social diseases is indicative of living standards. During 1949—51, the years of mass immigration and austerity, the infant mortality rate stood at 51 per thousand. By 1955 it had been brought down to 32.4.

The National Insurance Law also helped in this decrease. It grants maternity benefits only to women who give birth in hospital. Infant mortality rates in hospitals are much lower, of course, than in cases where there is no medical attention.

The tuberculosis rate stood at 19.6 per 100,000 in 1949. Better nutritional standards and prompt treatment of all disease symptoms effected immediate improvements. The disease rate had fallen by 1954 to 5.4 per 100,000—one of the lowest figures in the world. Instead of having a shortage of hospital accommodation for tubercular patients, Israel finds herself now with an excess. Last year a tuberculosis hospital was converted into a home for the aged.

This illustrates the large social gains made as a result of relatively lavish expenditure on social services. Most of Israel's working men are members of the Histadrut's Sick Fund. Malnutrition is almost non-existent in Israel: consequently, the average citizen's physical powers of resistance to disease are high.

The policy of the health authorities in Israel may well be described as "Prevention is better than cure". Many efforts are dedicated to the establishment of community centres, where the health services tie up with other social services in the care of the healthy family. In place of the older medical tradition which provides attention only after the patient's health has broken down, the objective in Israel is to preserve good health. In consequence of this policy, the steadily improving health of new immigrants enables them to increase their productivity and their earnings.

A progressive outlook has governed housing policy. Between 1949 and 1955, 228,000 housing units were constructed—70% of them by the Government and other public bodies. Over a period of six years Israel had more than doubled the amount of housing in the country.

Child education until the age of 14 is general and compulsory. The number of school children has increased more rapidly than the total population. In 1948-49 there were 135,000 pupils at school in Israel. By 1956-57, the figure had risen to 310,455.

Every child who completes his compulsory elementary studies may go to a secondary school, a trade or an agricultural school, or he may become a registered apprentice undergoing a specified training course under Ministry of Labour supervision. Evening courses are also available.

Of course, there are people in the country who are too profoundly disabled to earn a livelihood unaided. Most of these handicapped persons are either war invalids or new immigrants; in addition, there are people injured at work or in other accidents.

People disabled while at work are rehabilitated through the National Insurance Institute; those hurt in army service are treated and trained at a centre organized by the Ministry of Defence. As to the immigrants—that section of the population which usually stands in greatest need of aid—a special institution has been established for those among them who are disabled, called Malben (initials of the Hebrew words for "Organization for the Care of Handicapped Immigrants") which spends the equivalent of $12 million a year. In the last six years this institution has provided training, guidance and loans for the establishment of shops and workshops for nearly 6,000 disabled families, a total of 21,500 souls. Many who had spent their days in hopeless dependence on the charity of individuals or institutions were absorbed in useful, constructive and profitable occupations.

Other disabled persons are employed in protected workshops where they can develop and apply manual skills demanding a smaller physical effort than a normal plant. A man who makes a shoe in twice the time that a healthy worker would require has the satisfaction of contributing to the total supply of goods and services of society; he enjoys the pleasure of living on his own earnings, even though they may be supplemented by Malben or the Municipality or the Ministry of Social Welfare.

The Ministry of Social Welfare assists every citizen in difficulties. A man may have no job although employment is available; he may not send his child to school, although elementary schooling is free; he may need hospitalization and yet may stay at home, although no Government hospital would refuse him admission, whether he was able to pay or not.

Not everybody is prepared to take every job: even under normal conditions of full employment there exists marginal unemployment, as in any other country.

Activities of the Ministry of Social Welfare range from child guidance clinics to probationary services. The Ministry, in fact, complements all the other social services, closing the gaps, aiding the helpless widow or the misguided child, ensuring that no one should be destitute. Many elderly Israelis have no families to care for them; their relatives were massacred in Hitler's Europe, leaving only individual survivors to make their way to Israel. The problem of the elderly worker has not yet found a final solution. A Government-appointed committee recently completed its deliberations and made far-reaching recommendations. Aged persons who cannot support themselves and have no place of their own are admitted to homes which are gradually being extended all over the country.

"Villages of the aged" have been established; the one in Hadera has over 1,200 inhabitants. A new village of the aged was recently opened by Malben near Natanya, where the average age of the 500 residents is seventy. The village has a medical centre, an occupational therapy department and a library. The residents help run the home to the best of their ability. They publish their own monthly journal. A similar institution for aged and handicapped persons was opened recently in the northern seaside town of Nahariya.

The most significant single step towards the assurance of a fair measure of social welfare to the population of Israel was the enactment by the Knesset

(Parliament), on 18 November 1953, of the National Insurance Law. This provides for the compulsory insurance of all residents above the age of 18 (with a small number of specified exceptions), covering Old Age and Survivors' Insurance, Maternity Insurance and Employment Injuries Insurance. The extension of full health insurance to the entire population has been relegated to the second stage of the national insurance plan, as two-thirds of the population already enjoy full sickness insurance with the Sick Fund of the Histadrut.

National Insurance is being financed largely through contributions by the insured and the employer, the Government bearing part of the cost. The insured contributes 1.8% of his gross wages, while the employer pays the equivalent of 1.9% of the employee's earnings and is, moreover, responsible for the entire contribution to the Employment Injuries Insurance. Self-employed persons also must insure themselves, contributing 3.3% of their earnings. Thus a broad measure of security has been brought to the home of every citizen.

A working mother is entitled to maternity benefits, which take the form of paid leave before and after the birth of her child. Furthermore, such working women, as well as non-insured wives of insured men, receive childbirth grants, which cover hospitalization and first outfits for their babies. The working man and the self-employed are insured against loss of earning power in case of accident. If permanently disabled and beyond hope of rehabilitation (which is also undertaken free of charge), the insured receives a pension.

Finally, all men of 65 and all women of 60 who have duly paid their contributions receive life pensions. This basic old-age pension varies in accordance with the number of dependents in the family and bears no relation to the amount of previous earnings. Survivors of insured persons are entitled to a burial grant and a survivor's pension.

SCIENTIFIC PROGRESS

Science plays an important role in Israel's development—in both planning and application. Its object is to exploit the country's natural resources, to find sources of cheap energy, to aid in the development of agriculture and industry and to guard the health of the nation as well as the level of its physical and spiritual culture. The tremendous strides science has made in our generation open up hitherto unknown possibilities for the development of the poorer countries and the improvement of living standards among the masses. Israel is a small country. Her natural resources are limited, and her development projects cannot yet meet all her requirements. Hence the particular hopes which are attached to scientific endeavour; hence, too, the special tasks which face scientists and scientific institutions in Israel.

Such institutions and scholars in Israel are establishing contacts with scientific bodies and scientists abroad. They participate in international scientific conferences and act as hosts to such conferences in Israel. While gladly accepting technical and scientific aid, Israel as willingly shares with other countries the knowledge and experience she is acquiring.

INSTRUCTION AND RESEARCH

There are a number of institutions in Israel which promote scientific learning and research, train scholars and research workers in pure as well as applied science, expand original research, promote the study of the humanities and, in general, disseminate knowledge among the people.

The Hebrew University in Jerusalem.—This, the oldest of Israel's scientific institutions, is composed of six faculties: Humanities, Mathematics and the Natural Sciences, Medicine, Agriculture, Social Sciences and Law. Research carried on at the University is put to use in industry and agriculture (particularly in the arid South) and helps in the discovery of water and petroleum resources and in the exploitation of solar and nuclear energy for peaceful purposes. A considerable part of the University's efforts and facilities are devoted to medical research—such as the study of cancer and hormones—and to economic and sociological research, which have particular significance for Israel. In the field of the humanities, mention should be made of widespread scientific activity in Judaic studies as well as in the study of the East (including Study of the Middle East in Modern Times and Arabic Language and Literature). The humanities faculty also includes a School of Education.

The National and University Library includes some of the largest collections of books in Hebrew and on Jewish subjects in the world. A School for Librarians is affiliated with the library. Books are lent to students and "outsiders" alike, as well as to public libraries all over the country.

The University publishing house issues books on science, philosophy and Judaism, thus performing an invaluable service to Hebrew culture, now coming to life again in the land in which it was born. Some 200 books have been published so far. A Judaic studies quarterly is also published, as are various bibliographical publications.

In the year 1929 the University established a Popular Education Centre, which began to function in cooperation with national as well as local public bodies. By conducting lectures and seminaries in towns and villages throughout the country, the Centre makes it possible for adult working people to continue their studies in science, literature and the arts.

The Israel Institute of Technology.—This Institute, located in Haifa, trains engineers, technologists and scientists. Basic scientific research is carried on in the fields of construction engineering, electronics and chemical technology. In agricultural engineering, one of the important achievements has been the adaptation of harvesting machinery to crops hitherto harvested by hand. There is also an Institute for the Study of Building Problems; there are testing laboratories for electricity, hydraulic power, metallurgy, mechanics of the soil, etc.; an experimental station for the production of plastic materials; a Town-Planning Institute and an Institute for Industrial Design.

The activity of the Technological Institute's staff has left its mark in industry, agriculture and mining; and the Institute's alumni make possible today the nation's development projects.

The Weizmann Institute of Science.—This Institute was founded in 1949 by Israel's first President, the late Dr. Haim Weizmann, who looked upon science as the cornerstone of the country's development and of Israel's contribution to world peace and the welfare of humanity. The Weizmann Institute deals with research work in the exact sciences and, in certain cases, also with applied research.

The Institute is made up of ten divisions covering the following fields: Nuclear Physics, Applied Mathematics, Electronics, Biophysics, X-Ray, Crystallography, Isotope Research, Polymer Research, Organic Chemistry and Experimental Biology, Biochemistry, Microbiology, Microanalysis and Plant Genetics. Worthy of special mention are the geophysical research projects in connection with the study of water and oil resources; the installation of a Van de Graaf proton accelerator with a tension of 3 million volts; research in nuclear spectroscopy and in the processes of nuclear fission; the study of nuclear models and the study of cosmic radiation.

A scientific staff of 150 is employed by the Weizmann Institute, which maintains close ties, and carries out frequent exchanges of scientific personnel, with groups and institutions in various parts of the world.

Other Institutions.—Among the newer scientific institutions in Israel are Bar-Ilan University (Judaic studies, Natural Sciences and Mathematics, Social Sciences, Languages and Literature), Tel Aviv University (Natural Sciences, Humanities and Israel Culture, Pedagogy) and the Law and Economics College, also in Tel Aviv.

ATOMIC ENERGY

In 1952 the Israel Government appointed an Atomic Energy Commission which was given the following tasks: to develop the process for the extraction of uranium from the laboratory stage to an industrial stage, to study the possibilities of introducing atomic energy in Israel as a source of power, and to organize the academic training of the youth of the country in the field of atomic energy.

In view of the availability of uranium, it was thought that the development of a process or processes for the production of heavy water might lead to the establishment of reactors based on these two locally accessible materials. Such a process, utilizing high-power fractional distillation, has been successfully developed, and its economics have been studied.

It is thought that the first relatively large Israel reactor, which is now in the planning stage, will indeed use natural uranium and heavy water as moderator.

In the meantime, a Swimming Pool type research reactor is expected to be operating in Israel by the end of 1958, in order to provide an opportunity for research and teaching in this new domain of science and also for the production of isotopes. Already today the Hebrew University, the Weizmann Institute and the Institute of Technology are carrying out fundamental research in nuclear physics and allied branches of science, and the use of isotopes in various fields is increasing at a satisfactory rate.

Achievements in the nuclear energy field include the following:

1. A survey of Israel's phosphates (available in large quantities in the Negev—the southern part of the country) revealed that they contain uranium. Other minerals are also being studied for the presence of radioactive elements. A process has been worked out for the production of uranium as a by-product of the manufacture of phosphate fertilizers. In fact, several processes have been developed which correspond to the accepted methods of fertilizer production (dicalcium phosphate, phosphoric acid, sodium phosphate) and permit the recovery of the uranium without interfering with these methods.

2. A process has been worked out for the production of heavy water by high-power fractionation.

3. A group of scientists and engineers has been trained to deal with future developments.

4. From the outset, the Atomic Energy Commission has endeavoured to establish contacts with atomic energy teams in other countries. It has been greatly helped by the United States Atomic Energy Commission and especially by the French Commissariat a l'Energie Atomique. Some time ago, a tripartite agreement was concluded with France and the United Kingdom, providing for joint operations in regard to heavy water.

In the peculiar situation in which Israel finds herself with regard to the supply of fuel, atomic energy is believed likely to contribute significantly to the solution of one of Israel's fundamental problems—that of energy supply.

RESEARCH COUNCIL

The Research Council of Israel advises the Government in the organization and coordination of scientific research in the natural sciences and in all branches of technology. It also fosters and carries out scientific studies designed to aid in the development of industry and agriculture and in the exploitation of the country's natural resources.

The Council is conducting a number of research projects in conjunction with the Hebrew University, the Institute of Technology, the Israel Standards Institute and various industrial organizations.

The study of artificial rain production and industrial research in connection with the phosphates and other Dead Sea minerals and with local raw materials for the production of rubber and ceramics are likewise within the Council's domain. A nationwide survey of wind energy is also being conducted by the Council. Patents have been registered in Israel and abroad in the fields of heavy industry based on the resources of the Dead Sea and the Negev as well as on solar energy. The Council coordinates some 500 different research projects on agricultural subjects.

The Council operates a Physical Laboratory, which keeps the standard dimensions required by industry and the Government services to maintain the proper accuracy of instruments and measurements. A Department of Scientific Information publishes scientific literature and assists research workers in agriculture and industry.

HEALTH AND BIOLOGICAL RESEARCH

Starting from very limited services, Israel has developed a comprehensive system of hospitals and dispensaries throughout the country, which serve the entire population. The activity of Israel's public health institutions is buttressed by constant research aimed at stamping out disease, raising the standard of the people's health and lengthening the life-span of the individual.

Much effort has been devoted to cancer research. Significant progress has been registered in the field of hormone research, which is headed by a scholar of world renown. The Salk anti-polio vaccine is being successfully produced, and, after the inoculation of all children up to the age of 3 (older children are being vaccinated now), it may be said definitely that the vaccine has proved highly effective.

The Israel Biological Research Institute, an important centre of biological research, contains the following departments: Bacteriology, Virus Research, Experimental Epidemiology, Entomology, Micro-organism Physiology, Vaccines and Chemical Therapy.

Several important discoveries have been made in the course of the fight against animal diseases. An anti-rabies vaccine developed by the Veterinary Institute has been recognized by the International Health Organization. The efficacy of the vaccine when used on animals has already been successfully proved, and tests on human beings are under way. Of particular importance is the vaccine against the poultry pest (the "Newcastle Disease"), which has proved more effective than any hitherto known vaccine. The Kemron Vaccine (named after the Director of the Israel Veterinary Institute) has been distributed, by the U.N. Food and Agriculture Organization, throughout the Middle East, a region that has been hard-hit by this disease. Another vaccine prepared by the Veterinary Service is that against Leptospirosis — a disease that strikes cattle and humans alike and is frequently fatal. The Service is about to produce a new vaccine — more effective and cheaper than the one now in use — against Foot-and-mouth disease.

NATURAL RESOURCES AND GEOLOGICAL RESEARCH

Apart from the minerals in the Dead Sea, very little was known, before 1948, about the natural resources of the region. The discovery and exploitation of fuel resources is of vital economic importance. Each region of the world has its own special problems where oil exploration is involved, and Israel has proved no exception to this rule. Special methods had to be devised for dealing with the peculiar local difficulties. The first fruits of these labours have been reaped; one oil-field is already being tapped, with work progressing in the search for new fields.

The study of mineral, oil and water resources was given tremendous impetus by the progress in geological surveying and mapping. So far, the country has been mapped geologically to a scale of 1:100,000. Areas of special interest in the study of oil and minerals have been mapped to a scale of 1:20,000. Basic research is being conducted by the Geological Institute in connection with the search for oil and the development of subterranean water resources. Studies are being made also of iron and copper ores, bituminous chalk and granite deposits near Eilat, in the southern Negev. The recording and study of earthquakes are other regular functions of the Institute.

AGRICULTURAL RESEARCH

Scientific research that is both intensive and comprehensive facilitates the progress of agriculture in Israel by raising the quantity and quality of food and industrial crops. The primary aim of this research is to increase production and thereby to free the country, in the shortest possible time, from its dependence on imports. The Government maintains a number of agricultural research stations, including three experimental stations in the Arava plain in the Negev, a large animal husbandry station at Acre, a sea-fishing research station, a fish-breeding research station, a forestry research station, several vegetable-raising experimental farms and three regional field crop stations.

Special efforts are devoted to the development of irrigation projects, the extension of land under cultivation, the raising of the crop yield and the introduction of new crops.

The laying of a pipeline from the Yarkon River to the Negev now makes it possible to irrigate arid lands that previously had lain idle or had been used for grazing purposes only. Israel's large-scale development plans hinge on the project that is to bring water from the Jordan River in the north to the Negev in the south. One tunnel that is to form part of the project has already been completed, and a second tunnel is currently under construction. The entire project, it is expected, will take 10-15 years.

Some surprising achievements have been recorded with industrial crops. Unexpectedly large crops have been harvested in cotton and groundnuts—introduced in Israel only a few years ago. As a result of this success, the area under these crops is now being expanded. Local cotton, which is of a good quality, already supplies the needs of a large part of Israel's textile industry; groundnuts are grown in sufficient quantities to meet the entire domestic need and still produce some for export. Experiments in growing rice by modern methods have succeeded.

Before a new village is established, very careful work is done by the agricultural research establishments to determine the crops and type of cultivation most suitable for the particular land involved. The result has been that, during the past few years, the productivity of Israel agriculture has increased considerably.

ARID ZONES RESEARCH

Large-scale research and development work to make barren desert lands blossom in the Negev region have been pushed vigorously for several years.

At least half of Israel's territory is arid or semi-arid soil; hence the importance of this research work to the country. In 1957 the Arid Zones Research Centre was established in Beersheba, where most of the research work on arid zones is being conducted. The programme includes research in all aspects of desert agriculture, the physiology of work under severe climatic conditions, indoor climate problems in arid zones, the desalting of brackish water and the utilization of solar and wind energy.

At the Centre, practical research is carried on in geobotany, the physiology of plants, general biology, the meteorology of the region and the utilization of minerals from the Dead Sea and the desert mines. The activity of this institute will forge an important link in the chain of arid zones research institutes serving the area stretching from Egypt to India.

Through close cooperation with UNESCO, contact is maintained with scientific bodies all over the world dealing with this problem. In 1952 an international symposium of arid land scientists was held in Jerusalem under the auspices of UNESCO to examine the latest findings of desert research in various parts of the world.

SOLAR ENERGY

While work is proceeding in the search for a method of producing electricity from wind energy, achievements of first-rate importance have been recorded in the use of solar energy. Israel is blessed with an abundance of sunny days in all parts of the country during most of the year, so that the success of experiments in the utilization of the sun's energy are likely to open up all sorts of new possibilities. The achievements registered so far are chiefly the result of the work of an Israel scientist in harnessing the sun's rays, without the use of parabolic mirrors, for the production of steam at medium pressure (6 atmospheres) through the use of a relatively small instrument, for industrial purposes. The use of mirrors for absorbing the sun's rays causes a singnificant loss of energy, and the problem that faces scientists is to find surfaces that would absorb well but be poor radiators. It seems that this basic problem has now found a practical and satisfactory solution.

The design of a simpler device for home use — cooking, heating and refrigeration — has been completed and will soon enter the production stage for the use of the public.

THE HISTADRUT

THE HISTADRUT — the General Federation of Labour in Israel — is the largest voluntary organization in the country, with a present membership of 550,000, or over two-thirds of the adult population.

Founded in 1920, it has made a vital contribution to the shaping of the economic institutions of the country.

The Histadrut owes its strength, effectiveness and influence to the fact that its membership includes workers from every trade and profession. Its activities are of wide scope. It operates in four distinct fields: trade unionism; economic cooperation; social activities based upon mutual aid; education and culture.

To understand this diversity, it must be remembered that for nearly thirty years the Histadrut operated under British Mandatory rule as one of the few instruments through which the population could express its desire for self-government. Throughout that period organized labour was the main force able and willing to develop the country, paving the way for the independence of a state.

Membership of the Histadrut is open to all adult workers with the single provison that they do not exploit the labour of others. It thus unites in one organization skilled and unskilled workers in agriculture, building and industry, clerical and technical employees and members of the liberal professions.

Over thirty nation-wide unions operate within the general framework of the Histadrut. Collective agreements negotiated by them bind employers throughout the country to provide fair wages and working conditions for all their employees.

Throughout the long years of Mandatory government the Histadrut established strong cooperative institutions to further economic development. Today the labour cooperative sector controls about a quarter of the economy of the country, employing 25% of the labour force and contributing the same proportion of the national income.

When the Histadrut was established in 1920, the country was undeveloped, poor in opportunities for employment and unable to sustain an adequate standard of living for a progressive community. The Histadrut entered as an economic force, reclaiming the soil and developing the economy. It re-invested all profits and surpluses which accrued. This principle has been followed by enterprises owned cooperatively by the labour movement throughout all the years of its activity. Today the Histadrut owns some of the largest economic development institutions in Israel, but the individual members reap no direct dividends; all profits are re-invested in further development projects.

In addition to large-scale enterprises owned collectively by the membership of the Histadrut, labour's economic institutions include a network of workers' cooperative societies in every branch of the economy. While these societies generally follow the familiar pattern of organization, the labour cooperative movement in Israel has developed original forms, especially in agriculture. Two types of agricultural cooperatives in Israel, the kibbutz (communal village) and the moshav (cooperative smallholders' village), which have already been described, have attracted attention abroad, and their examples may help other countries struggling with agrarian problems.

No less basic to the structure of the Histadrut than its trade union economic activities is the principle of mutual aid in the social sphere. Thus the system of membership fees is based on a progressive scale, whereby the well-to-do member automatically assists the weaker.

Approximately 60% of the revenue from membership fees is earmarked for financing a network of Histadrut-sponsored social welfare services. Chief of these is "Kupat Holim", the Workers' Sick Fund, which provides comprehensive health insurance. All Histadrut members automatically belong to the Sick Fund, and through it they have attained a measure of social security comparable to that of working people in countries far richer than Israel.

In addition to their general membership in the Histadrut, women workers have their own movement within the Histadrut framework, specifically dealing with problems concerning women and the care of children. Housewives in this movement join with working women. It has developed educational and social institutions which help newcomers to adjust to the life of the country.

Many citizens of Israel came from Arab and Moslem countries in Asia and North Africa, where the woman's status in society is different from that in other countries. Their immigration to Israel brought them both liberation from persecution as Jews and social emancipation as women. Women workers have traditionally played a significant part in the life of the Israel labour movement and have contributed to the general leadership of the country.

ARAB COMMUNITIES IN ISRAEL

SOME 150,000 ARABS AND DRUZES ignored the ill-intentioned orders of Arab leaders in 1948 and 1949: instead of yielding to the political ambitions of reactionary demagogues, they accepted political reality and remained in their homes as citizens of Israel. The number of Arabs—Moslems and Christians—and Druzes today totals more than 207,000 souls. Not a single Jew remains in any part of Palestine that fell under Arab sway. The inhabitants of the Jewish villages situated in those sections of Palestine—Kfar Etzion, Masuot Yitzhak, Revadim, Eyn Tzurim, Atarot, Neve Yaacov, Beit Ha'arava and the Jewish quarter of the Old City of Jerusalem—were exterminated by the Arabs or forced to flee even before the declaration of independence.

When the battle ended in 1948, the Government of Israel, in approaching the problems presented by its Arab minority, found itself faced with a complex situation. The Arabs who had remained in the country had suffered profound psychological upheavals as well as a major dislocation of their social and economic life. Many villages had been badly hit by the ravages of war. The economic position in the towns was also affected. The villager who stayed on kept his land and was able to start afresh, but the townsman's entire economic and social framework was altered.

More fundamental still was the mental and moral shock to the Arabs. The collapse of the invading Arab armies proved to them that they had been misled by demagogues. The result was bitter disillusion and a general apathy towards public life. But resentment against their former leaders did not necessarily predispose the Arab population favourably towards Israel, in the beginning. In those early days of 1948 and 1949, the new regime was regarded with suspicion. Nor was it easy for the Arabs in Israel to adjust themselves to the new conditions when they were told daily in broadcasts from the neighbouring countries—not infrequently by the heads of the Arab Governments themselves—that the Arab states still considered themselves at war with Israel and might resume the offensive at any moment. It was under such conditions that the Government of Israel had to find ways and means to help the Arab communities to reorganize their lives in accordance with the new situation, and it is in the light of these conditions that the efforts to integrate the Arab population in the State of Israel should be assessed.

ECONOMIC AND SOCIAL ADJUSTMENT

From the very beginning the Government made special efforts to promote Arab agriculture. Apart from the general assistance the State affords farmers in Israel—by making available to them seeds, fertilizers, livestock, insecticides, water pipes and building material; by irrigation, by providing agricultural instructors and granting subventions—the Ministry of Agriculture also gave special loans to Arab farmers to enable them to replenish their stock and to change to more intensive farming.

The reorganization of the Arab urban communities presented problems of considerable difficulty. During the period of the British Mandate the Arab workers in Palestine had been largely at the mercy of their employers. Through the early efforts of the Government and the Histadrut, the Arab standards of living and conditions of labour were improved. Labour laws enacted by the Israel Parliament since 1949, covering maximum hours of work, days of rest, national insurance, annual vacation with pay, and the employment of women and of minors, have benefited Arab and Jewish workers equally.

Owing to the Government's initiative and assistance, and to the dynamic growth of the State, which has enabled all its citizens, without distinction, to progress, the past ten years have seen a great deal of development among Israel's Arab communities. Israel's regime guarantees all her citizens the full benefits of a democratic country.

In every aspect of life—particularly in nutrition, housing and clothing—the Arabs and Druzes have improved their standards. Educational possibilities have increased vastly, and the general educational level is far higher than it was ten years ago. The Arabs have far more effective services and public institutions at their disposal.

Most important of all is the new rating of the individual and the "little man". In the economic, cultural and social spheres, there are welcome signs of a continued and speedier progress.

There is no doubt that the standard of living of Israel's Arab citizen is higher than it was and that it is also higher than that in the Arab countries.

The Arabs are changing their conception of the State, the Government and the place of the citizen in a democrary. For hundreds of years they regarded every regime with suspicion and hatred. Now they are beginning to appreciate the value of a regime dedicated to the service of the nation. They are learning to recognize the correct relationship between Government and citizen, to understand the rights and responsibilities of a citizen and his place within the state. This process, however, appertaining to basic concepts previously totally unknown to the Arabs, is still in its early stages.

A growing realization of the advantages of local government and the ability of a local organization in village or town to improve living standards has, in many places, led to concrete results. Appreciation of human rights and of the citizen's rights in the State of Israel is constantly growing. The Arabs are noted for their individualism, but the concept of the freedom of the individual is almost entirely new to them. Slowly but surely the Arab citizen is beginning to change his attitude to the law and to see in it the nation's will, expressed through its elected representatives, and not a set of edicts enforced by tyrants.

POLITICAL LIFE

Israeli Arabs participate actively in the political life of the country. Under the Electoral Law, any citizen of either sex and over the age of 18 is eligible to vote for the Knesset. Israel was the first state in the Middle East to grant suffrage to Arab women, who voted alongside their menfolk in the elections of 1949, 1951 and 1955. Of the 120 Knesset members, elected by proportional representation, 3 were Arabs in the first Knesset, 8 in the second and 8 in the third. Not all Arabs necessarily vote for Arab candidates, so that the percentage of Arab votes cast in the elections was actually even larger than the percentage of Arab Knesset members. Of the 12 party lists which secured representation in the Knesset in 1955, three were Arab-Druze lists. All the parties competed heavily for Arab votes.

Arab Knesset members, both those elected by purely Arab parties and those within the framework of general parties, take an active part in parliamentary life. Most of them belong to the coalition and only a few to the opposition. Successful work has been done by a number of Arab local councils run on modern democratic lines. Interest in elections, both general and local, is evidenced by women as well as men.

In general, Arabic is freely used for official purposes. Coins, postage stamps and bank notes bear Arabic inscriptions in addition to Hebrew. The Official Gazette, in which laws and ordinances are published, appears in Arabic as well as in Hebrew. Street-signs appear in three languages, one of which is Arabic. In the Arab districts, official notices are issued in Arabic. Arabs are free to address Government Departments and to plead in court in the Arabic language: generally they do so. Arabic is the medium of instruction in all Arab schools maintained by the State.

In the Knesset, the Arab members speak in Arabic, a verbatim Hebrew translation being read out immediately afterwards by an official interpreter. All Hebrew speeches delivered in the Knesset are simultaneously translated into Arabic and are communicated to the Arab members through earphones.

The promotion of local self-government has received a great deal of attention. Arab towns and Local Councils received Government grants-in-aid according to their population and specific needs. Elementary school teachers' salaries are paid directly by the Ministry of Education, which also participates in the cost of the equipment of secondary schools. The Ministries of Labour, Social Welfare and Health contribute to the expenditure of the Local Councils for public works, social services and health.

Economic progress among the Israel Arabs bas been marked. As with the rest of the population, there are few instances among them of very great wealth, but there is also no dire poverty. In contrast to the shocking conditions in most Middle Eastern countries, the gulf between the wealthy man and the man of more modest means is lessening.

Agricultural production and output in the Arab villages have increased, due to better techniques, more efficient and scientific working methods, mechanization and irrigation. The outward appearance of the villages has also improved. The income of the man who lives solely from the work of his own hands has increased, and the social security of the small man is greater than it was. More people have learned trades and improved their living conditions. Many who had no means of making a livelihood are now productively employed. For those in need, and without the means of helping themselves, the Government provides social services.

EDUCATION AND CULTURE

With the financial assistance of the Government, Israel's Arabs have the opportunity of receiving an education in their own language and of developing their own cultural values and way of life. Elementary schools are to be found in all the villages, only a small percentage of which enjoyed educational facilities before the independence of Israel. Elementary, secondary and trade schools, as well as institutions of higher learning, guarantee wider and more varied education and opportunities for achieving a better life.

Religious life is also thriving. New mosques and churches have been built, and nearly all the mosques and churches in Israel which existed before independence have been completed or enlarged during the past ten years and are maintained in good condition.

WOMEN AND CHILDREN

In the social sphere there is growing equality between men and women, and the status of the woman has improved. Cases of a girl being married to a man she hates are now rare. No longer are young girls married off before they reach maturity, nor is a woman bound to put up with another wife in the house, as used to happen, when the man was permitted to have a number of wives: bigamy is now forbidden.

The attitude to children is also gradually changing. There is a growing understanding of their needs. In some places individuals are being liberated from tyrannical family rule, a serious obstacle to Arab progress.

As a result of new social and economic conditions, agricultural crimes have almost entirely disappeared. (Crop-burning or cutting down trees from motives of revenge are common in the Middle East and were previously practised in Israel.) For the same reason, crimes perpetrated by feuding clans and those with a "romantic" background (when a certain family refuses to permit a marriage with a member of another family) are growing fewer and fewer.

In the past ten years the foundations have been laid for the development of the Arab communities in Israel, for their integration into the State, and for their continued progress in the future.

When the position of the Arabs in Israel is compared with that of Jewish or other ethnic and religious communities in Arab lands, the startling difference in treatment becomes evident. In Iraq the Assyrian Christians were massacred and the Jews forcibly expelled and their property confiscated; a great part of Egypt's Jewish minority was similarly treated. The small remnant of Syrian Jewry is living under conditions reminiscent of Nazi Germany.

GENERAL GOVERNMENT POLICY

The Government of Israel endeavours to ensure the happiness of all her citizens who belong to minority groups. It is interested in helping them to develop in every way, in enabling them to enjoy the benefits of a modern country and in easing their integration.

Different states have different policies vis-a-vis their minorities. There are states in which the Government's policy practically forces assimilation on the minority within the country. Again, there are other states in which the Government tries to retard the progress of the minority.

The Israel Government rejected such policies as contrary to the spirit of the State and created its own policy. This aims at harmonization and orchestration, enabling every group to blend into the general orchestra of the nation, by making its own contribution to the life of the country in accordance with its own way of life.

The system, worked out in the light of practical experience, guarantees freedom and equality before the law, satisfies manifest needs through the exploitation of suitable opportunities, and tries to overcome the objective difficulties that occur from time to time. The Government helps the various groups to develop their lives in the way they wish.

The Government faces two great difficulties, one external and the other internal. The external factor is the security danger arising from the hostile attitude of the neighbouring Arab states, a situation which cannot be improved by the Israel Government alone. The second difficulty is the social structure and conservatism of the Arab communities, at times suspicious of technical and social innovations. This drags out certain processes, prevents others altogether and demands great patience.

In such circumstances the Government has two complementary methods of proceeding: firstly, by providing the maximum services through Government ministries, it enables the citizen to develop himself and to become a well-adjusted Israeli, ready to defend his country's existence, principles and institutions, while safeguarding the spiritual wealth of his own community.

On the other hand, the Government does not turn a blind eye to the external threats to the country's security by foreigners trying to enlist the help of Israel's Arab citizens in their plans. Certain areas of the country are under military government, to prevent opportunities for subversion or the creation of a fifth column within the country.

The Government has developed educational facilities within the Arab groups and has shown considerable initiative in providing services and in promoting agricultural, economic and cultural projects. The Government has taken pains to settle the land question, in spite of the obstacles put in its path by the neighbouring states. It has also helped to unite families by permitting 35,000 Arabs cut off from their families by the war to return to Israel. It has also helped people who were displaced during the fighting in 1948.

The Government's initiative has been decisive in the economic sphere as well as in education, local government, health and social services, where account had to be taken of the passive nature of these groups, in contrast with the more dyamic character of public life in the Jewish community.

In a democratic country like Israel, of course, a condition of plenty depends on the citizen's initiative, and the Government is not the only force in economic matters. But in consideration of the relative lack of economic initiative among the Arab population, the Government makes efforts to develop this initiative among its Arab citizens.

A meeting in this spirit took place on 5 July 1957 between the Prime Minister, Mr. David Ben Gurion, and representatives of the Arab parties in the Knesset. The meeting discussed ways of speeding up economic development and the process of integration within the country.

In accordance with the agreement reached at this meeting, new plans have been evolved, in cooperation with the relevant civil authorities, to broaden and pave approach roads to additional villages, to pipe drinking water into more villages, to create a large-scale irrigation scheme, to develop land, to introduce electricity, to improve orchards, to increase opportunities for technical and agricultural education by establishing more scholarships and institutions, to add to the number of local village councils and to institute a number of industrialization programmes. It is planned to lay down a main road which will shorten considerably the distance between Tel Aviv and a number of villages in the central district which market their produce in that city.

Constant efforts are made to relax military government in those areas where it still exists.

THE ARAB STATES AND ISRAEL

THE DIRE NECESSITY to eliminate internal conflicts in the Middle East is so obvious a fact that it requires no further elaboration. These tensions limit progress and invite external interference. The region must become a "closed area", barred to the conflicts between the Great Powers.

Among these dangerous internal clashes, the Arab-Israel conflict is a standing opportunity for the machinations of foreign Powers: it drains the strength of the nations concerned into an arms race. It also represents an excuse for the existence of chauvinistic tendencies, which retard the economic, social and democratic progress of the region. The only way to prevent foreign intervention as well as internal retrogression is to restore peace in the area. Israel has repeatedly demonstrated its tenacity in pursuit of a peace settlement. But do the Arabs want peace? They are not prepared to recognize Israel; they are not prepared to meet or to talk about peace; they are unwilling to relax the tension on their borders with Israel. On the contrary, they are doing everything possible to strain even further an already strained situation.

In open violation of the Armistice Agreements, the Arab states wage guerilla warfare across Israel's borders. To date, these attacks have cost hundreds of lives and massive destruction of property. Obviously, the purpose of the campaign is to make a peaceful life impossible for Israel's citizens.

In addition to these armed attacks, the Arab states are using the weapon of economic boycott. They have closed the Suez Canal to Israel vessels and to the vessels of other countries carrying goods destined for Israel; they exert continuous boycott pressure on states and business firms maintaining commercial relations with Israel.

Israel has always enunciated clearly her fundamental and constant aim of living at peace with her neighbours. Israel took the first step towards the realization of this aim by proposing a meeting with the Arabs to discuss all outstanding problems.

As far back as 6 August 1948, while the war was proceeding, even before the Armistice Agreements were signed, the Israel Foreign Minister, Mr. Moshe Sharett, wrote to the U.N. Mediator:

> "In confirmation of my oral statement to you at our meeting yesterday, I beg to request, on behalf of the Provisional Government of Israel, that you be kind enough to transmit to the Governments of the Arab States now at war with Israel our offer that their representatives should meet the representatives of the Provisional Government of Israel for the purpose of peace negotiations.
>
> "The Provisional Government would be grateful for the earliest possible communication of the Arab Governments' replies to this proposal."

Israel has repeated the proposal again and again. To this day the Arab Governments have not responded.

THE BORDERS

From time to time Arab leaders advance the proposition that peace between Israel and the Arab States can be achieved only by returning to the United Nations Palestine Partition Plan of 29 November 1947—a plan rejected by the Arab states at the time of its adoption. These states set about at once to destroy the basis of the resolution by launching what was intended to be a war of annihilation against Israel.

Their aggression failed. But the goal of the Arab countries, as reflected in their radio, their press and the statements of their politicians, remains the destruction of Israel.

The U.N. resolution of November 1947 recommended the termination of the British Mandate in Palestine and the partition of the country into Arab and Jewish States. The two States were to be bound together by an Economic Union, including a customs union, a joint currency system with a single foreign exchange rate, joint economic development schemes (irrigation, land reclamation and soil conservation), interstate railway, highway and postal services, and joint operation of ports and airports. There was to be a common customs tariff and a joint economic board to administer the Economic Union.

The basic assumption of the whole scheme was that it would be freely accepted by both parties and worked out in agreement between them. It goes without saying that no such Economic Union could operate for a day between two States divided by conflict and hostility.

As for the suggested frontier lines, they might be workable between two provinces of a unified or federal state, e.g., between two states in Australia or two Swiss cantons. They appear fantastic if conceived as international boundaries between two completely detached, independent and possibly hostile states.

How did the two sides react to the U.N. resolution? The Jews, though critical and apprehensive of some of the details, accepted the partition plan. The Arab response, on the other hand, was out-and-out rejection. Mr. Mahmoud Fawzi, the present Foreign Minister of Egypt (then its representative at the United Nations), stated:

> "We do not choose to comply with the General Assembly's resolutions on Palestine. The Charter and the United Nations will not fall apart if one more of the General Assembly's resolutions is not put into effect."

The other Arab representatives at the United Nations were no less outspoken. Mr. Adil Arslan of Syria said:

> "My country will never recognize such a decision."

Dr. Fadhil Jamali, the Foreign Minister of Iraq, was equally emphatic:

> "Iraq does not recognize the validity of this decision and will reserve freedom of action towards its implementation."

Mr. Camille Chamoun, the spokesman of the Lebanon, now President of the Lebanese Republic, declared:

> "The Arab countries are unanimous in rejecting the recommendations of the General Assembly resolution..."

Such was the attitude of the Arab states to the U.N. resolution in 1947. In pursuance of this policy they started a campaign of pillage and murder. They made open war against Israel and invaded the country with their armies:

"Powerful Arab interests both inside and outside Palestine," wrote the U.N. Palestine Commission in its report to the Security Council, "are defying the resolution of the General Assembly and are engaged in a deliberate effort to alter by force the settlement envisaged therein."

The Arab Governments themselves made no secret of their aggression: "We are going into Palestine with our Army," the Egyptian Government cabled to the Security Council. "We are compelled to enter Palestine," stated

King Abdullah of Transjordan in a simultaneous message. "Armed forces of the Lebanon are operating in Palestine," was the reply of the Lebanese Government to the official enquiry of the United Nations. Similar statements were made to the United Nations by the Governments of Syria, Saudi Arabia and Iraq, all of them members of the United Nations and pledged to uphold the Charter, which forbids aggression. The Palestine Arab Higher Committee was equally frank: "We have never concealed the fact," stated Jamal Husseini, the Chairman of the Committee, "that we began the fighting."

The aim of the war was defined with ruthless frankness by Azzam Pasha, then Secretary of the Arab League, on the eve of the Arab invasion of Palestine:

> "This will be a war of extermination and a momentous massacre that will be spoken of like the Mongolian massacres and the Crusades."

Such was the Arab goal: extermination of Israel. When the Security Council requested a cease-fire, the Arab states indignantly rejected it. Eventually, the United Nations Mediator succeeded in securing a one-month truce. When it expired, the Arabs refused to renew it and resumed their assault.

On 18 July 1948 an indefinite truce, ordered by the Security Council of the United Nations, came into force between Israel and the Arab states. Thus the fighting, begun by the invasion of the armies of Egypt, Syria, Lebanon, Transjordan, Iraq, Saudi Arabia and Yemen, officially came to an end.

On 16 November 1948, the Security Council decided that, "in order... to facilitate the transition from the present truce to permanent peace in Palestine, an armistice shall be established in all sectors in Palestine."

In compliance with this resolution, Armistice Agreements with Israel were signed by Egypt on 24 February 1949; by Lebanon on 23 March 1949; by the Jordan Hashemite Kingdom on 3 April 1949; and by Syria on 20 July 1949.

The provisions of these agreements were to remain in force until a peaceful settlement was achieved. Any revisions were to be based on mutual consent.

The Demarcation Lines laid down in the Armistice Agreements thus superseded the boundaries contained in the United Nations Partition Plan of 29 November 1947. That this was, indeed, the will of the United Nations is indicated by the fact that in 1948 the U.N. General Assembly actually voted down resolutions designed to affirm the 1947 resolution and, in its resolution of 11 December 1948, deliberately omitted reference to the 1947 resolution. In that resolution the General Assembly established an entirely new procedure for settling the basic problems of boundaries, by providing that the boundaries agreement between Israel and the neighbouring Arab States should be drawn up by mutual agreement between them, first in armistice agreements and subsequently by extending the scope of those agreements into a final settlement by negotiation.

In other words, the Assembly introduced an entirely new policy, based upon the idea of settlement by agreement. The parties complied with that policy, and concluded Armistice Agreements by which the present frontiers were fixed. The Armistice Agreements provided that these boundaries could be changed only by mutual consent.

Thus the 1947 resolution was not merely morally and practically but even juridically superseded and no longer forms part of the law of the United Nations on this problem. Emphatic proof of this was provided at the Seventh Session of the General Assembly of the United Nations (1952), when only 26 out of the 60 member states were prepared to support the idea that a settlement must be based on the 1947 resolution.

It is significant, further, in judging the sincerity of Arab protestations of their desire to revert to the 1947 resolution, that Jordan has now completely integrated into its own territory that part of the proposed new Arab State which in 1948 was occupied by its troops; and that Egypt not only continues to maintain control of the Gaza Strip, to which it has no legal or political right, but claims for itself territory in the Negev desert which under the 1947 resolution was allocated to Israel.

In brief, the 1947 resolution has been invalidated by—

1. Arab assault on it by force;
2. Arab denial of its legal validity;
3. Britain's refusal to implement it;
4. Refusal of United Nations bodies to carry out their part in its implementation;
5. Refusal of the General Assembly to countenance its reaffirmation in 1948;

6. Insistence of the General Assembly (1948) on an entirely new policy: that of drawing new frontiers by negotiations to be held in two stages and without reference to the 1947 resolution;
7. Existence of the General Armistice Agreements, endorsed by the Security Council and *a priori* by the General Assembly (11 December 1948) under which the parties are bound to maintain their present frontiers and may change them only by free agreement.

THE ARAB REFUGEES: BACKGROUND

The Arab states want Israel to bear the consequences of the war they started.

The first result of their war on Israel in 1948 and their defeat was a mass exodus of Arabs to the neighbouring countries. These were the tragic losers, the victims of the war the Arab leaders had started so recklessly. During the first weeks of the fighting, the flight of Arabs took place on a small scale. Later the evacuation assumed wholesale proportions, reaching its peak in April 1948, a month prior to Israel independence. The causes of this mass flight may be summarized as follows:

1. The basic cause lay in *the structure of Arab society in Palestine at that time*. The war brought about a moral collapse in Arab towns and villages. Public institutions, civilian and private, ceased to function; confusion and chaos took the place of law and order; anarchy and violence gained the upper hand, finding expression in acts of robbery, rape and murder (including the resumption of blood feuds). Law was represented by the revolver; the only counter was the rifle. Mutual aid, social justice and compassion were forgotten. It was every man for himself. Men of means did what they could to save their skins; the poor and the needy were left to their own devices. Everything was in a turmoil—the distribution of food and the supply of water, medical supplies and social services to civilians. Most of the political, spiritual and military leaders, the doctors, pharmacists, grocers, bakers and butchers deserted their posts.

In such a situation, with the law of the jungle governing men's actions—especially as, in addition, the forces of aggression, whose leaders had promised an early victory, were falling back in defeat instead of advancing in triumph—the individual could think of but one thing: how to escape.

2. The Arab leadership dictated a *policy of evacuation*. This is evidenced by official Arab and non-Arab documents as well as by the testimony of Arab and other witnesses. The purpose of the Arab leaders in ordering the evacuation was threefold: they wanted to clear the town and villages and the adjacent roads for the advance of the Arab armies; to bring home to the Arab peoples of the neighbouring countries the reality of the war in Palestine and to enlist their support in its prosecution; to impress upon the outside world the fact that no Arab was prepared to acquiesce in the establishment of Israel or to live under her rule. The policy was ruthlessly enforced. Wherever, in the course of the fighting, a local truce was concluded between Arabs and Jews, the Arab leadership forbade its implementation and ordered the removal of the Arab inhabitants from the area, as had already been done in the first two instances of mass evacuation in Tiberias and in Haifa.

3. The Arab population had been led to believe that for the Arab armies the war against the Jews would be little more than a "walk-over". When the truth of the *defeat of the "Liberation Army"* and of the Arab regular forces became generally known, the Arab population panicked and stampeded across the frontiers. A contributory factor of decisive importance was the headlong flight of national and local leaders.

4. Another factor that must be taken into account was the *fear of retaliation*. The Arabs had hoped to inflict a crushing defeat on the Jews and to liquidate them completely. Knowing what they had already done to their neighbours, and what they yet intended to do when victorious, they expected the victorious Jews to mete out the same sort of treatment to them.

Apart from this general fear, there was, in many cases, the apprehension of individual retribution. Such terrible things had been done to Jews that not a few felt uneasy at the prospect of imminent justice. The one and only instance of Jewish high-handed action in this war was the destruction of the Arab village of Deir Yassin by a group of Jewish dissidents. When these extremists attacked the village, the inhabitants raised the white flag of surrender. The attackers were taking occupation of the village peacefully when fire was treacherously opened on them from all sides despite the white flag. This led to the unfortunate catastrophe. This action was executed in defiance of the

Jewish national authorities and sternly disowned by them. But it was widely exploited by the Arab press and radio—a tragic illustration of the boomerang effect of Arab propaganda on their own people.

In vain, the Jews tried, by every means open to them, to stop the Arab evacuation: from the start of the disturbances, leaflets were distributed in Arab villages and towns—frequently at considerable risk—urging the people to keep the peace. Similar appeals were made daily over the radio of the Jewish Defence Forces. The Jewish Agency, the General Council of Palestine Jewry, Jewish Municipalities and Local Councils addressed dozens of appeals to the Arab people not to leave their homes.

The Jewish Mayor of Haifa, the late Shabtai Levy, who was beloved by both the Jewish and the Arab inhabitants of the city, wept when a delegation representing Haifa's Arab community officially notified him of their decision to leave the city. After the Arab forces of aggression in Haifa had been defeated, the Arab population of the city wanted to come to terms with the Jews and to remain in their homes, but Arab headquarters in Cairo ordered that the evacuation was to proceed, that under no circumstances was there to be any settlement with the Jews. The majority of the Arabs did not dare to defy these orders. The Arabs who did stay were either too poor to flee, or else they preferred to remain where they were and to live under Jewish rule, rather than to seek haven among Arabs.

Many Arab villagers and Beduin tribes made their peace with Israel and stayed. In Galilee particularly, many of the peasants remained in their homes. Galilee was the last region to come under Israel control: by that time Arab hopes of an easy victory and triumphant return had vanished. Arabs remained in Jaffa, Haifa, Acre, Ramla and Lod (Lydda), as did the bulk of the population of Nazareth. The Druze community did not budge; they maintained friendly relations with their Jewish neighbours and accepted the authority of Israel. The Ahmadiya (Qadhiani) community, living on Mount Carmel, also remained.

Between 615,000 and 630,000 of the Arabs who lived in what is today Israel left the country; about 145,000 remained. Since 1948, some 35,000 refugees have been allowed to return, under the family reunion project. Today Israel has about 207,000 Arab citizens.

In effect, what has taken place has been an exchange of population. As against the 615,000—630,000 Arabs who left the country for the Arab states, 450,000 Jews have been driven out of the Arab lands and have found refuge in Israel.

THE ARAB REFUGEES: A SOLUTION

In many respects Israel has already done more towards a solution of this problem than the Arab states.

Israel was prepared to sacrifice a considerable share of her natural water supply and to agree to the Jordan River development scheme in a form which would help to settle the refugees—a scheme rejected by the Arabs against the economic interests of the refugees.

Despite the Arab economic war against her, Israel released blocked refugee accounts amounting to more than five million pounds sterling, besides the safe-deposit boxes left in the banks. She permitted 35,000 Arabs to settle in Israel under the family reunion scheme. She offered to pay compensation for property abandoned by the refugees, in order to help them to start their life anew.

No Arab state has given equivalent help and understanding to the refugees. Indeed, the Arab Governments have given no indication that they are really seeking a humanitarian solution to the problem. Time and again they have openly demonstrated that they care little about the destiny of their unfortunate brethren but are doing their utmost to exploit the refugees as a weapon for political pressure. For ten successive years United Nations relief has been feeding the refugees, taking care of their health and maintaining their schools. The refugees are not permitted by the Arab Governments to obtain employment where it is available and, in many cases, are not allowed even to leave their camps. At the same time, vast territories of good arable lands with plenty of water, crying for human hands to develop them, lie idle and unused in Syria, Iraq and Jordan. Land without people—people without land: that is the present position of the refugees. Why are they not released from their camps and given the right of resettlement?

The Arab states clamour for the return of the Arab refugees to Israel. But at one and the same time they constantly incite those same refugees against

Israel's very existence. Their clamouring, therefore, can have but one aim: the destruction of Israel through the formation of a Fifth Column within her borders. Israel is ready to make peace and to contribute to the solution of the Arab refugees' problems, but on no account is she prepared to commit suicide.

AGGRESSION VS. PEACE

While Israel's leaders have proved their basic friendship to the Arab people again and again, the Arab League and all the Arab states have maintained a cold war by means of economic boycott against Israel, including illegal interference with her shipping, and a hot war by infiltration across the borders for purposes of theft and murder.

At the U.N., Israel voted in favour of independence for Libya, although she realized that this would add yet one more state to the hostile Arab League. In spite of similar dangers, Israel also recognized independent Sudan and sympathetically supported the movement for Tunisian independence.

When King Farouk's regime was overthrown in Egypt, the Israel Premier, Mr. David Ben-Gurion, in a speech on 18 August 1952, held out the hand of friendship to the new rulers.

The Armistice Agreements explicitly refer to the transition to a peace settlement. The Arab states were determined to disregard this provision, and instead of utilizing the armistice machinery as a means of settling technical difficulties, they tried to use it as a shield from behind which they could, with impunity, conduct acts of warfare against Israel.

Under Nasser's regime, Egypt became the self-proclaimed leader of this aggresssion. Loudly she announced her intention of destroying Israel. Thus, on 31 August 1955, Cairo Radio proclaimed:

> "Weep, O Israel, because Egypt's Arabs have already found their way to Tel Aviv. The day of extermination draws near. There shall be no more complaints or protests to the United Nations or to the Armistice Commission. There will be no peace on the borders, because we demand the death of Israel!"

Nasser acknowledged repeatedly that the Egyptian Government was responsible for Fedayeen activities. On 15 May 1956, according to Radio Cairo, he addressed the Fedayeen units at Khan Yunis in the following terms:

> "You have proved by your deeds that you are heroes upon whom our entire country can depend. The spirit with which you entered the land of the enemy must spread. The entire world has felt your deeds and, even more important, the enemy has felt your effectiveness and knows your heroism."

During 1956, Nasser forged a ring of steel around Israel, when, following huge deliveries of modern Soviet arms to Cairo, he made military alliances with Syria and Jordan. His avowed intention was to meet the armies of his allies "on the ruins of Israel".

Encircled, and under constant attack by the murderous fedayeen bands, Israel struck before it was too late. In October 1956 the Israel forces took action—after repeated appeals to the U.N. against the Egyptian ruler's policy of armed incursions had failed—to neutralize the fedayeen nests near the frontiers of the Gaza Strip and the Sinai Desert. A move was made simultaneously to eradicate the Egyptian guns illegally barring innocent passage through the Gulf of Akaba. In the ensuing battles, the Israel forces routed numerically superior Egyptian divisions, equipped with a superabundance of modern weapons.

Thousands of Egyptians surrendered; before being released they were taken on trips around Israel, to see the truth for themselves. Many of them expressed their amazement when they saw the realities of Israel life in dramatic contradiction to the ideas with which they had been indoctrinated. They were given opportunities to meet the people of Israel and to converse with them freely. They were welcomed in a friendly spirit wherever they went and discovered what is known to everyone who visits Israel: the people of Israel are peace-loving and are guided by a democratic and progressive Government.

Ar first, the Sinai campaign was misunderstood by the world. But, as world opinion learnt the facts step by step, people realized that the campaign had been an act of self-defence within the spirit of the United Nations Charter and that Egypt was the real aggressor.

Israel withdrew her troops from the Sinai Desert and the Gaza Strip. In doing so, in compliance with the wishes of the United Nations, Israel demonstrated that she was ready for peace and that she had no desire to take a single inch of Egyptian territory.

Israel still believes in peace in the Middle East and in the cooperation of all its peoples for their mutual benefit and for the advancement of world peace.

PEACE IN THE MIDDLE EAST

ISRAEL EARNESTLY DESIRES AND WORKS for an Arab-Israel settlement. What form and content can it take?

It is obvious that peace in the area would be of the utmost benefit to both Israel and the Arab states, as well as to the world in general. Both sides should enter into negotiations on an equal basis as prospective beneficiaries.

This is of the utmost importance, since interested chauvinistic elements have tried to prevent such a settlement by describing it as being of benefit only to hard-pressed Israel; according to their view, the Arab states should carry on the war against Israel until she is wiped off the map.

As a matter of fact, peace would bring at least nine major benefits to the Arab peoples:

1. It would enable them to reduce their wasteful military expenditure and to apply their financial resources to urgently needed economic and social reconstruction.
2. It would ward off the dangers of foreign intervention and would ensure permanent peace in the Middle East.
3. It would open new economic possibilities and pave the way for the realization of much-needed construction and development schemes for the benefit of all nations concerned.
4. It would make possible the re-establishment of rail and road comimuncations throughout the whole region.
5. It would open the possibility for Jordan to obtain free and speedy access to the Mediterranean through free port facilities at Haifa.
6. It would enable Israel's neighbours to share her scientific achievements.
7. It would gain for the Arab world a great deal of goodwill throughout the world.
8. It would further the cause of democracy throughout the Middle East by reducing internal tensions, which hamper the growth of democracy in the area.

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9. It would make possible a final settlement of the refugee problem, at present kept artificially alive.

The economic boycott of Israel imposed by the Arab states is causing great harm to themselves. Thus the Iraqi Minister of Economics has stated that the boycott of the Kirkuk-Haifa oil pipeline alone has already cost Iraq hundreds of millions of dollars.

Peace in the area would thus benefit the Arabs at least as much as it would help Israel.

Israel's point of view is that she is prepared to meet with the Arabs anywhere, at any time, with or without the presence of other parties, to discuss peace, without either side binding itself in advance as to the terms. It must, moreover, be emphasized that Israel has always proposed direct Israel-Arab talks and has not even demanded that talks be necessarily confined to a final settlement. On several occasions Israel stated that she would also be prepared to meet representatives of the Arab states for discussion of an interim settlement of various outstanding questions. Thus, for instance, Israel offered to discuss compensation to be paid by her for property abandoned by the refugees. (Such a step would, of course, be conditional on the Arab politicians calling off their economic blockade of Israel.) The Arabs have always turned down such proposals.

If a general peace settlement were concluded, regional development schemes such as irrigation and power, as well as the outstanding help Israel could give both in the scientific field and in the field of refugee settlement because of her own invaluable experience in integrating her immigrants, would make possible the settlement of the refugees in the underdeveloped regions of the Arab world, to the immense benefit both of themselves and of the countries concerned.

All the various points involved in a peaceful settlement are in fact already summarized in the Five Principles of Co-existence (Panch-shila) which the peoples of Asia have accepted:

(a) Mutual respect for each other's territorial integrity and sovereignty. Quite clearly this means mutual recognition and a settlement along existing frontier lines which were agreed upon in 1949 in the four Armistice Agreements with Egypt, Jordan, Syria and Lebanon. It was with these frontiers that Israel was accepted as a United Nations member.

(b) Mutual non-aggression. Obviously this calls for an immediate end to the state of war, which, according to Egypt's leaders, exists between her and Israel, and to the hostile and warlike acts which most of the Arab states are practising against Israel, including raids across the border, warlike threats, demands for Israel's annihilation, warlike propaganda, economic boycott, interference with Israel shipping and air traffic. It calls for the conclusion of the non-aggression pacts which Israel has repeatedly demanded.

(c) Mutual non-interference in each other's internal affairs.

(d) Equality and mutual benefit. This requires an end to discrimination against Jews in Arab countries and against Israelis who pass through Arab countries, the inauguration of regional cooperation schemes in irrigation and soil conservation, the opening of regional lines of communication and mutual trade.

(e) Peaceful co-existence. This involves the acceptance of Israel within the family of Middle Eastern nations. On her part, Israel will do her utmost to further the interests of the region.

There can be no better proof of Israel's attitude towards these principles than the words of Ambassador Eban before the U.N. General Assembly on 3 October 1955: "Even in these discouraging days, Israel's vision of the Middle East goes far beyond a mere renunciation of hostility. We are convinced that these two peoples, whose encounters in history have been so fruitful for mankind, can, by united effort, restore the past glories of their common region. Israel stands at the very heart of the Middle East, in the centre of its pivotal communications. Only if hostility is abandoned, will a free commerce of ideas, energies and merchandise flow across a region which has all the resources of natural and mineral wealth, of manpower and cultural tradition with which to sustain a rich civilization at the highest levels of the atomic century. Is this not a vision worthy of tenacious pursuit? There are no problems outstanding between Israel and the Arab states which would for so much as a few weeks survive a mutual decision to solve them by negotiation. The tragedy of the Middle East lies not only in the Arab refusal to envisage peace and mutual recognition, but, even more acutely, in the painful consciousness of the rich potentiality which lies so close to our common door."

This attitude offers true peaceful co-existence; it proves, moreover, that Israel could be of inestimable assistance to the area as a social and economic catalyst. Once the Israel-Arab conflict is eliminated in the realistic manner envisaged, the region will be a "closed area" to foreign interference and power politics. Israel's advanced social system, its communal settlements, powerful trade unions and workers' movement, the advanced position of its women and its scientific achievements would all contribute to the welfare of the region.

It is an unavoidable conclusion that a realistic and speedy Israel-Arab settlement is indispensable for progress in the Middle East.

In view of these facts, such a settlement is of the greatest importance for Asia as a whole. The ancient and venerable nations of Asia know that peace and progress are indispensable in the modern world, that strife in one part of Asia will inevitably affect the rest of the continent. The welfare, future and prosperity of Asian nations are inter-connected; hence it is to the interest of all Asia that Israel, one of the oldest members of the Asian family, should find peaceful integration in the region.

ISRAEL AND THE NATIONS OF ASIA

ISRAEL'S STRUGGLE FOR NATIONAL FREEDOM is of deep significance to the general cause of Asiatic liberation.

The history of Israel links her to the Asian peoples, her geographical position makes her one of them, her destiny is inextricably interwoven with theirs.

Asia must now make up its material leeway. It will need scientific planning and industrial development. But in striving for these things it must take care not to lose the spiritual values which represent its immemorial heritage. It will have to strike out on new lines; in achieving technical progress and economic development, it must maintain the dignity of man and the sanctity of human life, which are among the noblest ideals of its ancient peoples.

Israel finds herself on common ground with the Asian countries that are engaged in nation-building on the basis of democracy, social justice and individual freedom. There is no doubt that because of her constructive efforts and the scale of her experiments in social and economic forms, Israel is able to contribute to the creation of a new society—a task facing all Asian nations.

The vast influx of immigrants, under Israel's "ingathering of the exiles" programme, and the need to integrate them into the social, economic and political pattern of the reborn State have posed some grave problems. To induce a former merchant, for example, to engage in manual work is a very difficult task requiring material and social conditions that assure the worker personal dignity and cultural progress. This can be realized only in a society based upon political and social justice and the dignity of man.

Through its elected representatives, society can exercise a controlling influence over the interplay of economic forces and can maintain a comprehensive scheme of social insurance, a just system of taxation and equitable distribution of the country's wealth. A striking characteristic of the great social experiment in Israel is that throughout the vast changes in the lives of her people they have reaffirmed their belief that there can be no social progress without democracy and that democracy can be fully realized only through social progress. Israel rejects all forms of dictatorship because they outrage human dignity and reduce man to a subservient tool of an all-powerful state. Thus the Jewish commonwealth has become a fortress of democracy and social progress in Asia.

The Government and people of Israel place great emphasis on the development of close, fraternal ties with other Asian nations. In the ten years of Israel's existence as a sovereign state, much has been done to develop friendly relations and cooperation with the countries of the Asian and African continents. Israel feels that a better understanding of the cultural and religious heritage of the countries involved is essential for the creation of such relations. Accordingly, efforts are being made in Israel to make this heritage known to the people. Noted Asian authors have long since been translated into Hebrew. Among these are Kato, Lin Yu-Tang, Mahabharata, Rabindranath Tagore, Umar al-Khayyam,Firdausi, Nazim Hihmet, Mahmut Makal, Abd al-Malik Ibn Hisham, Taufik al-Hakim and Taha Husain. The Israel Oriental Society is active in spreading more knowledge about Asian and African nations amongst the people of Israel. Many visitors from these countries have made use of this society to tell the public of the experience and problems of their countries.

On the other hand, it is keenly felt in Israel that not enough is known in Asia about the history of the Jewish People, its aspirations and achievements. It must be borne in mind that while the struggle for the national and political independence of the Jewish People has evolved along unique lines, because of the peculiar historical fate of the Jews, the aims of modern Israel are essentially identical with those of the other nations of Asia.

For this reason, Israel was one of the first states to recognize the Chinese People's Republic and to send a diplomatic representative to Japan. Israel has developed cordial relations with the Republic of Burma and has established friendly ties with the Philippines, Thailand, Laos, Ceylon, Ghana and Nigeria.

It is no less important for Israel and her sister Asian states to develop their economic relationships than it is for them to achieve political cooperation and stable diplomatic ties. Southeast and West Asia suffer alike from the fact that their economic progress has not kept pace with their political advance. It would be most useful, therefore, for Israel and other Asian countries to consider jointly economic and trade problems relevant to the region as a whole.

The Asian countries, especially those with considerable population densities, can achieve a reasonable level of prosperity and win the battle against disease and poverty only by harnessing science and administrative ability. This can be facilitated by an exchange of professional manpower and experience. Irrigation experts, botanists, chemical engineers, trained economists, statisticians and other professionals from Israel can and do assist other Asian governments in the creation of extensive economic opportunities in their countries, in developing research and in furthering the struggle for better living standards.

One of the chief handicaps facing many of the newly-liberated lands of Asia and Africa is the low standard of public health and the lack of experience in creating new forms of social organizations. There is room for practical and immediate cooperation with Israel, which has a long and distinguished tradition in medical science.

Israel's experience in the search for new forms of cooperative agriculture, designed to enable rational and advanced soil tillage while avoiding the creation of large estates; its successes in providing cheap and modern housing units for a constantly increasing population; its advanced machinery for maintaining full industrial employment and settling trade disputes are available for use by other Asian governments. On her part, Israel would welcome advice and assistance from sister nations on many problems that have arisen.

It is in the fulfilment of such ideals that the sister countries of Asia must seek the true objectives of national independence and statehood.

The realization of such a state of mutual cooperation in Asia will restore moral leadership to the continent where human civilization was born.

R.D

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